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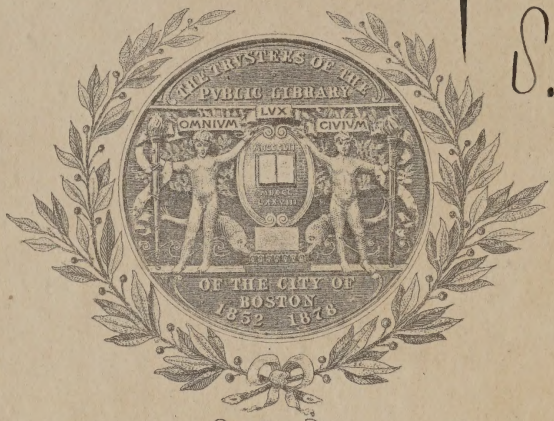

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THE QUESTION OF NORTHERN EPIRUS AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE

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BY

NICHOLAS J. CASSAVETES

Honorary Secretary of the Pan-Epirotic Union of America

EDITED BY

CARROLL N. BROWN, PH.D.

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1919

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PREFACE

Though the question of Northern Epirus is not pre-eminent among the numerous questions which have arisen since the political waters of Europe were set into violent motion by the War, its importance can be measured neither by the numbers of the people involved, nor by the seriousness of the dangers that may arise from the disagreement of the two or three nations concerned in the dispute. Northern Epirus is the smallest of the disputed territories in Europe, and its population is not more than 300,000.

The question of Poland involves a population of many millions and the imperial aggrandisement of Germany. The question of Alsace-Lorraine involves the pride of the French nation, the richest iron mines in the world, and the everlasting menacing of France by Germany.

The Epirotic question does not press itself upon the attention of the English speaking peoples because of such weighty considerations.

The struggle is not between two nations trying to conquer each other. It is simply on the one hand the unwillingness of the Northern Epirotes to accept the Albanian rule, and on the other the anxiety of the Albanian chiefs to have the Northern Epirotes included in the Albania of tomorrow.

Possibilities of international difficulties are not expected to ensue from the disagreement of the Epirotes with the Albanians. If worse comes to worst, there may be a repetition of the comico-tragedy of 1914, during which the Northern Epirotes rose in revolt against the Albanian rule, and hastened the downfall of a State which had been hastily created, and unwisely allowed to govern itself without even elementary knowledge of self-government.

If the English-speaking peoples are invited to take in-

terest in the Epirotic question it is on purely ethical grounds. After the war, the English-speaking peoples of the earth will have emerged as the arbiters of the destinies of mankind.

The world will be better, or will be worse, after the war, in proportion as the English-speaking peoples shall try to render justice fairly, and impartially, or shall disregard the rights, and prove indifferent to the liberties, of the small nationalities.

The Epirotic question, then, is brought to the attention of the English-speaking world, as to a just tribunal, and the author of this brief study will feel justified in having attempted to put in print certain facts generally familiar only to students of Balkan history, if this just tribunal of the English-speaking world is thus induced to render justice where justice is due.

The writer of this brochure is an Epirote himself, and it may be only fair to the cause of those who differ from him on the question of Northern Epirus to warn the reader to be on the watch for any partiality which may overcome his sincere effort to bring out the facts as honestly and as truthfully as he knows how.

A certain reserve is generally maintained by people toward writings which refer to persons or things favored by the authors. Rarely do people like to hear a man praise or even accuse himself. The opinions of others about ourselves are more readily accepted. In attempting to produce this brochure the author is, therefore, conscious that he is prejudicing the cause to which he is attached. If he ventures to write on the question of Epirus, it is only because in his experience as a Secretary of the Pan-Epirotic Union in America, he has discovered that there are no authoritative writings of any very recent date on the question of Epirus, and that the journalists and political writers whom he has met confessed their complete lack of familiarity with the Epirotic problem.

The purpose of this brochure is not to give an exhaustive

history of the Albanians nor of the Epirotes. The aim of it is to bring out very briefly what the Epirotic question is, to give only the essential and outstanding facts of the problem, and to allow the readers to form their own conclusions as to whether the Province of Northern Epirus should be included in the future Albania, or whether it should be reunited with Greece as in 1913.

It is also the purpose of this booklet to bring to bear, here, the testimony of the men who have made partial or total studies of the Epirotes, and by quoting from their writings, extensively and fairly, to give to the readers as varied a testimony as will enable them to sift the facts and establish the justice of each of the disputant parties, the Epirotes and the Albanians.

The author will try to prove that Northern Epirus is Greek in feeling, in thought, in culture, and in aspirations as well as in blood. As an Epirote, he knows the feeling of the Epirotes, but he does not demand that his testimony be believed except as it is supported by disinterested and trustworthy authorities. To that end, he will quote extensively from numerous writings on Epirus and Albania since 1800 A. D.

The author wishes to express his indebtedness for the valuable assistance offered to him by Mr. Evangelos C. Despotes, the present Secretary of the Union, in having readily contributed valuable information on the Pan-Epirotic Union of America, and to thank Professor Carroll N. Brown, of the College of the City of New York, for his revision of the manuscript and supervision of the publication of this little book about Epirus.

The Author,
PRIVATE N. J. CASSAVETES,
12th Division, U. S. A.

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CHAPTER I

THE EPIROTIC PROBLEM

HISTORY OF THE PROBLEM

In 1912, the Greek and Serbian armies were sweeping the Turkish and Albanian forces before them in Epirus and Albania, and were occupying Korytza and Durazzo, respectively. Austria sent an ultimatum to Serbia, and Italy sent one to Greece, with the demands that Serbia evacuate Albania, and that Greece arrest her advance on Valona.

Serbia withdrew her forces from Durazzo, and Mr. Venizelos immediately checked the advance of the Greek troops. Meanwhile, under the auspices of Austria, Ismail Kemal Bey, a Turkish Cabinet Minister, declared the independence of Albania at Valona, while Essad Pasha, under the auspices of Italy, was striving to make himself King of part of Albania, at Durazzo. None but a handful of Albanians joined Kemal Bey. A handful more joined Essad Pasha in opposition to Kemal.

The great mass of the Albanians did not take part in the movement for an Albanian State. They did not understand; they did not care. They wanted to remain subject to Turkey, under whose régime they were left to themselves, each clan under its own chieftain, free to plunder and to rob the Christian Serbs in Macedonia, and the Christian Epirots in Epirus.

Austria was clearly intent upon creating difficulties for the Balkan Allies in order to split up the Balkan Federation. Serbia was driven from the sea. Greece was threatened with the loss of Epirus. The Triple Alliance

was ready to plunge the world into the Great War. The Balkan mêlée was offering an excellent opportunity.

Sir Edward Grey and President Poincaré perceived the danger. They sought to avoid the catastrophe. They persuaded Serbia to withdraw from the sea, and prevailed upon Mr. Venizelos to renounce the Greek claims on Epirus. Thus, in 1913, in order to postpone the Great War, Northern Epirus was awarded to the Kingdom of Albania. The Greek army was forced to evacuate all the territory occupied in 1913. The Greek soldiers with tears, and amid the lamentations of the population, abandoned Northern Epirus. The Albanian soldiers were to occupy the Province thus evacuated. That was in the Spring of 1914.

Suddenly, the Epirot population rose, and declared its intention to die rather than submit to Albania. The Epirotes declared their country independent and autonomous, and completely defeated all the Albanian armies sent against them under Austrian, Turkish, and Italian officers.

The Provisional Government of Northern Epirus, under George Zographos, appealed for aid to the Powers, and asked that Northern Epirus be allowed to join itself to Greece. Mr. Venizelos, fearing European complications, denied the Epirot Deputies admission to the Greek Parliament.

The Great Powers were forced to recognize the Autonomy of the Epirotes, but the Central Powers insisted that autonomous Epirus should be part of the Kingdom of Albania. The representatives of the Epirotic government were forced to accept the terms rather than keep up an unequal struggle.

The Conference of the Representatives of the Powers accepted the terms of the Epirotes, which were as follows:

(1) Northern Epirus is autonomous.

(2) It recognizes King William of Wied as its legal sovereign.

(3) It sends deputies to the Albanian Parliament.

(4) The official language of North Epirus is Greek.

(5) The language in the schools is Greek; Albanian is only optional.

(6) The Epirotes have their own militia, under their own officers, which cannot be used outside of Northern Epirus.

The acceptance of these terms, it is clear, meant complete independence for the Northern Epirotes. But no sooner was the Protocol of Corfu signed than a revolution broke out in Valona. King William of Wied fled. Albania was in utter disorder. Hordes of irregular Albanians began to invade Northern Epirus. Massacre, looting and rapine ensued. Mr. Venizelos, fearing for the fate of the Epirotes, asked the Powers to be allowed to reoccupy Northern Epirus for the protection of the Epirotes from the savagery of wild Mussulman tribes.

The Powers consented, and the Greek Army returned to Northern Epirus amid the frenzied enthusiasm of the population which believed that this reoccupation meant permanent union with Greece. Such was the state of affairs in Northern Epirus in 1914.

The diplomats of the Central Powers had made up their minds that Northern Epirus was too fanatically attached to Greece to be separated by force.

In 1914, the Great War broke out.

In 1915, Mr. Venizelos was forced to resign and all Albania was occupied by the Austrians. The attitude of King Constantine became very suspicious, and the Allies ordered the Greek army demobilized.

Under the pretext of protecting the Allied flanks, Italy occupied Northern Epirus; drove out the Greek civil authorities; forced the Greek schools to close; initiated a violent and unprecedented persecution of the Greek clergy; and imprisoned all the inhabitants who refused to call themselves either Italians or Albanians.

The Albanians, encouraged by this anti-Greek policy of Italy, have set out upon an extensive campaign of propa-

ganda in order that Northern Epirus may be represented as Albanian. The Albanians, on the one hand, are carrying on a frightful persecution against the Greek population, slaughtering, expatriating, and intimidating the population; and on the other hand they are trying to convince the American and English peoples that the majority of the Northern Epirotes are Albanians.

The Epirotic question has two aspects, namely, the Greek, and the Albanian. In its Greek aspect the question is a demand on the part of the Epirotes to unite themselves to Greece. In its Albanian aspect it is an attempt on the part of certain Albanians, Austrians and Italians to incorporate Northern Epirus in the future State of Albania.

What are the arguments of the Albanians?

CHAPTER II

THE ALBANIAN PROPAGANDISTS, AND THEIR ARGUMENTS

1. *The Albanian Propagandists in America and in England*

BEFORE we give the arguments of the Albanian propagandists, we think it is very necessary to explain who these propagandists are.

In America, the Albanian propaganda for the subjugation of Northern Epirus to the future Albanian State is carried on by three Albanian organizations: (A) the Vatra, (B) The Reverend Dako, (C) and the Skyperia.

THE VATRA

The Vatra, with its seat in Boston, is by far the most notorious Albanian organization. It has about 1,600 members. The President of the Vatra is the Reverend Fan Noli. The Representative of the Vatra in London is Faik Bey Konitza.

The Vatra demands that not only Northern Epirus, but the entire province of Epirus, namely, Jannina, Preveza, and Konitza, be attached to the future Albanian State.

The Vatra considers Greece as its great enemy, and its polemics are aimed against that country.

The Vatra is pro-Austrian and anti-Italian in sympathy. Faik Bey Konitza was formerly consul of Turkey at Corfu.

The Vatra is in favor of the return of William of Wied, ex-king of Albania, and at present an officer in the Austrian Army.

THE REVEREND DAKO

The Reverend Dako group is bitterly antagonistic to the Vatra. This antagonism is due to the fact that the

Vatra is pro-Austrian, while the Reverend Mr. Dako is in favor of an Italian protectorate over Albania.

The Reverend Dako's views on the future of Albania are less imperialistic than those of the Vatra. The Reverend Dako, while claiming Northern Epirus as Albanian, recognizes that in Southern Epirus the majority of the people are Greeks.

THE SKYPERIA

The Skyperia Society, with its seat in Worcester, Mass., is a very recent organization, a schism of the Vatra.

The Skyperia acknowledges as leader not Faik Bey Konitza, whom it denounces as a traitor and a grafter, but Ismael Kemal Bey, a former Turkish Cabinet Minister, and a pronounced friend of Vienna.

While all three organizations are carrying on their work of making friends for Albania, and winning supporters in favor of the adjudication of Northern Epirus to Albania, the Vatra is by far the most energetic Albanian organization in America and in England. And it is for this reason that we consider here only the Vatra's arguments on the question of Northern Epirus.

Before we proceed with our arguments it is, perhaps, advisable to state here that the Vatra does not represent any party in Albania itself. It is an organization of Albanian immigrants here in America and the same is true of the Dako organization. The Skyperia has supporters in Albania—the partisans of Ismael Kemal Bey—few, indeed, now.

In Albania, no one single organization, no one single party exists which can be said to represent a majority of the Albanian people.

In Albania, the people are divided into clans, each clan supporting its own chieftain against every other clan. By far the most powerful chief in Albania today is Essad Pasha, the defender of Scutari in 1912, and now fighting on the side of the Allies.

We come now to the arguments adduced by the Vatra; these arguments, we are sorry to say, have so misled a large body of unsuspecting men and women in America and England that the Epirotes are forced to protest against being taken for Albanians, and to refute these arguments that there shall be no doubt in the minds of the Americans and the English as to the ethnology, and the aspirations of the Epirotic people.

2. *The Arguments of the Albanian Propagandists*

Mr. Stavro, the Secretary of the Vatra, in an article published in many papers throughout the country, in order to arouse antagonism against Greece, wrote: "Greece occupies by the sword the Albanian region of Chameria, or Southern Epirus, as the Greeks call it, and two years ago had invaded and devastated the Albanian region of Korytsa, and Argyrocastro, or Northern Epirus, as the Greeks call it."

This quotation is a statement coming from the officials of the Vatra, and it shows very clearly what are the aspirations of this organization.

"Greece occupies Southern Epirus." The Albanians in America are conveying the idea that Greece has occupied Southern Epirus against the will of the Southern Epirotes. They furthermore accuse Greece of devastation of the provinces of Korytsa and Argyrocastro, implying thereby that these provinces are Albanian.

If one should ask the Albanians why they think that Epirus is Albanian they will answer:

"Because historically Epirus has always been Albanian; because the Epirotes are Albanians; and because Epirus is indispensable to the economic and cultural progress of Albania."

It is a matter of regret that the average American is quite unacquainted with the history of the Balkan races, and falls an easy prey to the first propagandist who attempts to win his attention.

The Albanians, taking advantage of the absence of historical knowledge about Epirus, give out the following version of the history of Epirus:

(a) "Epirus is a part of Albania. Epirus has always formed a part of ancient Illyria. Pyrrhus was Albanian. Under Skender Bey Epirus was Albanian."

(b) "Ali Pasha, an Albanian, ruled over Epirus."

(c) "Albanian Beys are in possession of the most fertile soil of Northern Epirus."

(d) "The Northern Epirotes speak Albanian."

(e) "The Northern Epirotes are the only cultured people in Albania. They are needed to become the nucleus for the civilization of the wild Albanian tribes."

To these contentions of the Albanian Propagandists, and of the misguided Albanophiles, the Epirotes answer with the following facts, dates and numbers, which will speak for themselves.

CHAPTER III

HISTORY OF EPIRUS

1. *Ancient*

We need not go further back than to Homeric times. In the sixteenth book of the Iliad, verse 233, we read:

> "Zeus, King, Dodonean, Pelasgian, who dwellest afar,
> Ruling Dodona, the wintry, where sit
> Around your altar the Selles, priests
> Who never wash their feet, and sleep on the ground."

And in the second book of Iliad, verse 749, in the enumeration of the ships of the Greeks against Troy, Homer says:

> "Him followed the Enienes, and the war-like Perrhebeans,
> Who dwell around the wintry Dodona."

And in the Odyssey, book 14, verse 327, Homer says:

> "And ordered him (Odysseus) to go to Dodona where
> He would hear from the divine and tall oak-tree the will of Zeus,
> In order to return to his dear native land
> Secretly or openly."

And Strabon, book 2, page 50, writes:

"Theopompus says that the Epirotes are divided into fourteen tribes. The most glorious of all are the Chaones; then, the Molossians, for these have once ruled over all Epirus: first the Chaones, then the Molossians, who on account of the relationships of their kings (Aekidae) grew strong, and Dodona became famous because it was situated near them."

Now, the Chaones, according to the Geographer Strabon, extended up to the Acroceraunian Mountains or

where Northern Epirus is today, while the Molossians inhabited middle Epirus, extending from Macedonia to the Adriatic Sea opposite Pheacia or Corfu.

Herodotus (VII, 129–130) writes that the Perrhebeans believed themselves descended from Apollo.

Livy in book XXXIII, chap. 32, writes: "The Perrhebeans preserved their name and identity until Paulus Aemilius subjugated them."

The famous French scholar Duruy in his *History of Greece,* writes: "A small district of Epirus was originally called Hellas. Then the name passed to all Epirus, Thessaly, Beotia, Peloponnesus and Macedonia." (Vol. II, 159.)

Also "Epirus was the point of contact of the two peoples—the Illyrians and the Pelasgo-Hellenic." (Vol. II, 159.)

Thucydides, Book I, 5, "The Thresprotians, whose country contained Dodona and the valley of Acheron, where the dead are evoked, were considered by Herodotus as Hellenes."

Plato in his *Republic* calls the Athamanes, an Epirotic tribe of Northern Epirus, Hellenes."

Herodotus in Book II, 54, writes: "The oracle of Jupiter was established in Epirus by the Pelasgians who built him a temple. The Selles were his priests."

Polybius (VII, 9, 1 sq.) writes: "To the south of the Acroceraunian mountains (these are the boundaries claimed by the Greek Epirotes today as the just boundaries between Greece and Albania) begins Greece."

Eustathius in his *Parecbolae* (I: 321) writes: "According to Herodotus the extreme boundaries of Greece are Thrace and Epirus."

Rufus Testus in his *Descriptio Orbis Terrae* writes of Epirus as a part of the Hellenic fatherland.

Scylax (page 22) writes: "The barbarians, Hierostamices, Thesprotians, Hyllirians, Hylles, are the Illyrian nation. After the Illyrians come the Chaonians,

the Thesprotians, dwellers of cities, then the Cassiopeans and the Molossians, dwellers of cities."

It is necessary to notice that, in every instance, Epirus is distinctly separated from Illyria, and, without exception, considered a part of the Hellenic land. It is important also to notice that the Thesprotians, the Chaonians and the Molossians are not termed barbarians. They are said to have dwelt in cities, in contradistinction to the Illyrians, who dwelt in the mountains. Now, it is easily inferred from this that the Illyrians were uncivilized, while the Epirotes were civilized.

Plutarch in the *Life of Pyrrhus* writes: "Tharrythas the king brought to Epirus the civilization of Athens."

"The Illyrians invaded Epirus. A terrible fight ensued in which the victory cost the Molossians 15,000 in dead," writes Diodorus. (XV—13.)

Plutarch tells us that King Admetus in the fifth century B. C. was called upon to send help to Athens against the Persians. It is well known that the Greeks did not ask help from barbarians, but only from the Greeks in that great emergency.

When Themistocles was exiled by the Athenians, he was very well received by Admetus, King of Epirus.

In 429 B. C. Tharymbas, son of Admetus, educated at Athens, introduced Athenian civilization. His son Arymbas II, lover of art and literature, promoted learning and philosophy. To him the philosopher Xenocrates, of Chalcedon, dedicated the four books on *The Art of Good Government.*

Pyrrhus in his great expedition against the Romans, had Greek and Epirot soldiers with him. After having defeated the Romans he said: "See here an ordinance of Barbarians (meaning the Romans) which is not at all barbarian."

Now, were not Pyrrhus a Greek he would not call the Romans barbarians, for only the Greeks called all foreigners barbarians.

Just before the defeat of Perseus by the Romans a council of the Aetolians and Acarnanians took place to consult on whether they should accept the terms of the Roman ambassadors or should resist Rome in alliance with Philip of Macedon.

Lyssicus, an orator, rose and spoke thus: "Is it worthy of us, the descendants of heroes, to ally ourselves to barbarians and to fight against our brothers, the Epirotes, the Achaeans, the Boeotians, and the Macedonians?"

And Agesilaus of Sparta said to the Embassy of Philip, which threatened to punish the Greeks, if they did not assist him: "Let not Philip of Macedon try to combat his brothers, the Aetolians, the Epirotes and the other Greeks. Let him watch against the Romans. Let him protect all the provinces of Hellas. He will thus unite the Greeks and intimidate the strangers by the unification of the Hellenic family." (Pausanias, 58.)

It is very clear that sufficient proofs have been adduced to prove that in ancient times Epirus was Greek. The words of great historians, the judgments and testimonies of reputable authors, the declarations of popular assemblies, defy every attempt to make Epirus Illyrian.

Thus, up to the time of the fall of Macedon, Epirus was completely Greek in character.

This fact is strengthened by the statements about the enormous amount of loot which the soldiers of Paulus Aemilius carried away from the cities of Epirus to the Imperial City.

Duruy describes the fall of Epirus in graphic terms. (Book III, section 2, page 235.) "The Epirotes had allied themselves to Perseus. The Roman Senator, to make a salutary impression upon the Allies of Rome, proposed to treat the Epirotes as deserters, who had forfeited their lives. The punishment was that the Epirotes be sold as slaves. But what severity this was towards a whole people! Paulus Aemilius wept, it is said, when he read

the decree. Cohorts, sent into seventy cities of Epirus, received orders to pillage them and destroy their walls on the same day, at the same hour. The booty was so large that each foot-soldier, after having laid aside for the treasury the gold and silver, received 200 denarii. Each trooper received 400 denarii. One hundred and fifty thousand Epirotes were sold as slaves. Paulus Aemilius sailed to Rome in the galley of Perseus. The triumphal procession lasted three days, so vast was the amount of the spoils. On the first day, the statues and pictures were carried through the streets. On the second day, a long train of wagons loaded with weapons, and 3000 men carrying 750 vases, each of which contained three talents in coined silver, and other vases and cups, remarkable for their size or their beauty of design, passed through the streets of Rome. On the third day, soldiers carried the coined gold in 77 vases, three talents in each, 400 wreaths sent by the cities of Greece and Asia, vases with gold, and gems and ancestral gold cups. Then followed the captives, among whom were the children of Perseus and Kotys, the King of Epirus."

This passage from Duruy dispels all doubts as to the ethnology of the Epirotes. If the Epirotes had been Illyrians, they would have been barbarians. They would not have had seventy cities, nor the marvellous riches and art treasures which Paulus Aemilius carried to Rome.

But we may add that the coins, and the tablets of that period show beyond doubt that the Epirotes were Hellenes.

In Duruy's *History of Greece* (III, section 2, page 237) we read on the votary tablet of the Athenians presented to the God of Dodona after the Athenian victory against the Spartans, the words:

"The Athenians have voted it, having won a naval battle against the Spartans."

The tablet was excavated by Carapanos at Dodona. On page 235, book III, section 2, of the same author one

can see a coin of the Molossians with the inscription in Greek, "Molosson," with a shield and a thunderbolt, the insignia of Zeus.

There are scholars who differ from this view as to the ancient Hellenic origin of the Epirotes. The foremost among them is the German scholar Heinrich Kiepert.

In his *Manual of Ancient Geography,* he writes:

"The Epirotes were not originally of the Hellenic race. They belonged to the family of the Illyrians. After the Peloponnesian wars, they began to adopt the Greek language and manners."

To which the German scholar Fich replies thus:

"The incorrect interpretation of certain passages of Thucydides which call the Epirotes barbarians, on account of their cultural inferiority to the Athenians, has misled certain investigators.

"They have believed that the Epirotes, who were not Hellenes at the beginning, were Hellenized later, confounding them with the Illyrians, the modern Albanians.

"These confused notions have been cast away all at once, and the cradle of Hellenism has been cleansed of all suspicion of barbarism. The inscriptions of Dodona show us the Epirotic dialect as one of those idioms of Northern Greece which were common to all the Greeks from the Acroceraunians to Bœotia, and to Southern Thessaly."

From the fall of Epirus under Paulus Aemilius to the coming of the Turks, Epirus had seen Romans, Goths, Serbians, Venetians and Albanians as conquerors.

This study is not concerned with the occupation of other races. It is concerned only with the magnitude and the duration of the Albanian invasion of Epirus.

Twice was Epirus under the domination of the Albanian tribes. The first time was in A. D. 1368. The Albanians invaded Epirus, and the whole of Northern Greece in that year under the chieftain, Peter Leossa. The Albanians remained rulers of Epirus and northern Greece until the

year 1422, when the Sultan Amurad entered Epirus, and drove the Albanians beyond Durazzo.

The second time was in the days of the heroic Albanian chief, Skender Bey.

The Northern Epirotes and especially the Chimariotes, allied themselves to Skender to fight the Turks in A. D. 1444.

In a few years Skender died, and Epirus fell into the hands of the Turks.

The life of Epirus under the Turks is very obscure. The coming of the Turks not only destroyed the Greco-Roman civilization of Epirus, but forced the learned and the intelligent Epirotes to seek new homes in Austria, Rumania, Russia, Italy, England and France.

Scholars and other visitors who succeeded in going through Epirus before the Greek Revolution of 1821, describe the condition of the Epirotes as most tragic and deplorable. There were no free Greeks after the Epirotes were made slaves to the Albanian chiefs, who upon the death of Skender Bey, accepted the faith of Islam, and were compensated therefor with the lands and the services of the Epirotes.

In the year 1804 Pouqueville visited Epirus, as envoy of France to the notorious Albanian Tyrant, Ali Pasha.

This period is the period of the renaissance of the Greek people.

We shall devote much of our historical study of this brochure to this marvellous period, as it is a wonderful period of Epirotic action, a period of heroism, of devotion, and of self-sacrifice of the Epirotes for the resuscitation of Hellenism.

Among the many writers on Epirus of this early period of the 19th Century we shall quote extensively from Pouqueville, an acknowledged scholar, a French Academician, and a traveler who went to Epirus to study the conditions of the Epirotes and to report to his Government.

Another authority from whom we shall quote is Perrhebus, an Epirote, a member of the Greek Revolutionary Committee, known as the "Philikê Hetaerea." Perrhebus took part in all the struggles of the Epirotes against the Albanians, served as a captain during the Russian occupation, the French occupation, and the English occupation of the Ionian Islands, and was a member of the first Constitutional Assembly of Greece.

2. *Modern History*

A. 1821

General Perrhebus, whom we have described as one of the leaders of the Greek Revolution, writes in the introduction of his *History of Epirus:*

"Conditions were perilous in Epirus, as well as throughout the whole of Greece. It was not possible for one to write a history of Epirus, especially in the days of that abominable tyrant, Ali Pasha.

"But two things there are which have forced me to begin to write and to spread among the Greeks the deeds of the Epirote revolutionists, the Suliotes and the Pargiotes. The one is the increase in the severity of the tyranny, and the other the entreaties of the leaders of the Greek Revolution."

This brief introductory passage shows how crushing was the Albanian yoke upon the Epirotes.

In 1885 appeared in the *Fortnightly Review* of April an article by V. H. Caillard, who accompanied a commission sent by Gladstone to determine how far Epirus was Greek in sentiment.

From M. Caillard's observations one can understand that Epirus since 1806 (the date of the advent of an Albanian governor) had been subjected to a forced Albanization. The lands were confiscated; the religion of the

Greeks was persecuted; the schools and the teachers were burned. The well-to-do were plundered. Those who dared assert their Greek nationality were subjected to most diabolical tortures.

The Greek population had become slave. In order to propitiate the Albanians, many of them became Mussulmans. The people, losing touch with their schools and churches, were forced to learn the Albanian speech and to hide their Greek identity in order to mitigate the ruthlessness of the tyrants.

Pouqueville gives us a most vivid and gripping account of what he saw with his own eyes of the cruelty of the Albanians to the Christians:

"Ali seated on a balcony had the unfortunate Frenchmen (200) brought before him one by one and beheaded, their heads and bodies being thrown into a ghastly heap. The executioner did his work well at first; but presently, overcome by the sickening sight, his legs gave way under him, and he fell dead to the ground. Ali continued the fearful work with his own hands."

Pouqueville again writes:

"Since 1740, the Epirotes had preserved a sort of semi-independence. But when in 1788 Ali became the Satrap of Jannina, the Epirotes were subjected to a most cruel persecution. Ali devastated Epirus. He robbed the churches and the ancient temples to make grotesque palaces and mosques.

"The province which gave Greek letters to all the Greeks under the Turks, the province which had a Greek College, built with funds donated by Caplan and Zosimas, the province which had produced Meletius, the famous geographer, Soedonis, the Greek grammarian and author of the first Greek dictionary, and Psalides, the famous mathematician, fell into darkness, and her schools were closed.

"The court of Ali Pasha is open to murderers, crimi-

nals and perjurers. His guards are assassins, his pages are the illegal sons of his depravity, his commissaries are mean Vlachs, ready to commit any crime; his public officials prisoners who take glory in their crimes. Ministers who commit sacrilege against the living god are admitted into the innermost dark council rooms in order to disclose to Ali Pasha the innocence of the poor and the secrets of the confession of the repentant Christian Greek population. Spies, disguised in all forms, seek the property of the orphan, the widow and the weak. Timid virgins, hiding in the dark recesses of bolted chambers, cannot escape his scrutiny. The daughter is snatched from the bosom of her mother; and the son, the only support and hope of the family, is taken away by the Albanians; honor, beauty, and chastity (male and female) are sacrificed to the most barbarous and shameless passions. Kindness and favors never fall to the lot of good men. And yet, despite all the orgies of impiety, the Greek population holds on tenaciously to virtue and to religious life."

"The Greeks of Jannina are very charitable. Nothing has been able to efface this quality from their souls. They never turn away their eyes from a victim disgraced by the Satrap.

"All these unfortunates, without distinction, are the object of their solicitude. Thousands of innocent Greeks thrown into prison are taken care of by the Christian Greeks.

"The clergy, the bishops, the monks, and the priests, by whom the worship of Christ was made to survive the Fall of the Greek Empire, comforted the Greeks by teaching them that being born Christians they should always think of their freedom.

"Near Lucovo, at the sight of the men of Ali, whom the people recognized from afar, the inhabitants had closed their gates as at the approach of an enemy. So justly is the name of those belonging to the Pasha of Jannina

hated. While we were passing, the inhabitants hurled curses upon us.

"We came near Oudessovo, which in 1798 was a beautiful village, and now had only one villa of Ali Pasha. All the inhabitants had been murdered because they had been Christian Greeks.

"Then we came upon the town of Hagios Vassilios, the inhabitants of which had also been butchered in 1798 by the Albanians and the town was nothing but ruins now."

"We passed by Nivitza Bouba, which had been destroyed in April, 1798.

"As we were approaching Delvino, we heard shots. An Albanian officer returning announced that Ali's forces were taking Delvino. He advised me that it was not safe for me to appear as a Christian. He gave me Albanian dresses.

"We entered Delvino. Flames were rising from the town. The Albanians had pillaged and set it on fire.

"The officer informed me that he was showing too much kindness to a Christian. He said that every Mohammedan who shows friendship for the Christian is of a dubious character and unworthy of the true Faith of the Prophet.

"We entered Dridgsi. An Albanian crier went out and demanded of the Greek people that each family should bring two lambs, chickens, milk, cheese, butter, eggs, wine, bread, and fodder for the horses.

"It is impossible to describe how difficult it has proved for me to study the Greek people of this Province owing to the suspicions of the ruling Albanians.

"But my observations have persuaded me that their large numbers, their courage, their industry, and their activity will some day change the face of Greece."

Some time later Pouqueville wrote:

"Hellas sprinkled with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus was destined to rise again among the free nations of the world.

"The Epirotes, guided by the lights of their ancestors,

found again civilization. Without freedom, without money, abandoned by all the Christian world, inspiring in strangers only a barren pity, a disheartening indifference, and more often insulting depreciation, they were regenerating their country. They had always looked upon themselves as prisoners of war, never as slaves."

And Eaton, an English traveller, wrote in his *Voyage* (II, p. 72): "The Greeks are like generous racers champing at their bit, and indignant at the yoke which presses them."

Again Pouqueville writes:

"The forty villages of Zagori became fiefs to Ali Pasha. And for that reason the Zagorites abandoned their homes and flocks and fled to other parts of the world."

General Perrhebus dedicates his *History of Epirus* to Greece and apostrophizes her thus:

"Mother Hellas, I am too poor to offer you other gifts. I offer you this book, that contains the glorious victories, and acts of bravery of thy sons, the Souliotes.

"The book I dedicate to you is not full of rhetorical figures, nor of metaphysical inventions. It contains the deeds of your sons. It tells how Photos Tjavellas and others like him rushed for glory and for liberty to a glorious death, as to a happy holiday.

"It tells how even the Grecian women of Epirus, like those daughters of Sparta, rushed with arms in hand against the barbarians."

The Epirotes were brought to a point of desperation. Many of them left their fertile lands in the plains and fled to the mountains in order to live free. From these mountain fortresses they harassed the Albanians, whenever the latter committed acts of violence against the Greek peasants in the plains.

Ali Pasha therefore made up his mind to exterminate them. As a consequence a series of wars ensued between Ali Pasha and these mountaineers, which ended in the Greek Revolution.

After a vain attempt to subdue these warlike Epirotes of the mountains Ali Pasha resorted, as was his custom, to treachery. The English traveller Eaton in his *Voyage,* as well as Pouqueville, published the text of a letter sent by Ali Pasha to the two dauntless Epirot leaders, Botzaris, the father of the great hero of the Greek Revolution, and Tjavella.

The letter reads as follows:

"My friends, Capitan Botzaris and Capitan Tjavella, I, Ali Pasha, send you greetings. I know very well your valor and your manliness. I have great need of you. Come then, I pray you, as soon as you receive this message. Get all your valorous men with you, and come that we may go and crush my foes.

"This is the time when I need your friendship. Now you can show how much love and friendship you have for me.

"Your pay will be double that which I give the Albanians, because I know that your bravery is much greater than that of the Albanians.

"I will not undertake to make the war without you. I shall expect you soon. I greet you.

"Ali Pasha."

This letter was deceitful and ruinous to the Souliotes. They knew that the professions of friendship on the part of Ali were only a snare. But in order to avoid arousing his anger, and to supply themselves with food and ammunition, the Souliotes decided to send only seventy men with Capitan Tjavella at their head.

The Souliotes wrote to Ali that seventy Greeks with Tjavella as their leader were sufficient to ensure victory.

Ali was much incensed but did not give vent to his rage. He ordered the Albanian troops to start their march northward against Argyrocastro. But secretly, he had given instructions to the Albanian commanders to

seize the Greeks and march against Souli. Ali believed that the Souliotes, confident in the presence of Tjavella with him, would be taken by surprise.

As soon as the troops approached the outskirts of Souli, Ali ordered the soldiers to have games, in order that the Greeks might participate, and in so doing leave their arms aside.

While the Greeks were engaged in games, Ali ordered them seized and bound.

One of the Souliotes under a rain of shots, escaped and gave the alarm to the Greeks, who rose, men, women and children, and occupied the strong mountain fastnesses.

Ali was disappointed. He returned to Jannina and imprisoned Tjavella and his son Photos, with the other sixty-nine men.

After three months of imprisonment, owing to the increased activities of the Souliotes, who desired to punish the treachery of Ali, Tjavella was called by the Satrap.

"Tjavella," Ali said to him, "it is from your hands that I demand Souli today. I promise to give you all the gold and every honor you may ask of me. If you refuse me, I will have you roasted alive, you and your only son, Photos, and all your men that are in my hands."

"So long as I am imprisoned here," replied Tjavella, "never hope to possess Souli. But if you release me, you may hope to seize it."

"And how shall I trust you?" asked Ali.

"You have my only son in your hands. My son, Photos, is the dearest part of my soul."

This hostage satisfied Ali. Tjavella hastened to Souli and wrote the following challenging letter to the Satrap:

"Ali Pasha, I am glad that I have deceived a treacherous man like you. I am here to lead my country-men against a thief. My son may perish. But I will avenge his death with desperation. Some Turks, like you, will say that I am a pitiless father in that I am sacrificing my

only son to save myself. I answer, that if you seize these mountains, you will murder my son, my family and all my people. And I shall not live to avenge their deaths. But if we win, I shall have other sons. My wife is young. If my son, young as he is, is not satisfied to die for his country, he is not worthy to live, and to be known as my son. Proceed, then, treacherous Albanian. I am impatient to take vengeance.

"I, your sworn enemy,

"CAPITAN LAMBROS TJAVELLA."

Eaton writes:

"The Pasha did not think it fit in his first outburst of rage, to put his hostage to death, but sent him to Jannina, to his son Veli Bey, who governed in his absence. I was present when the boy was brought before him. He replied to the questions put to him with a courage and a boldness which surprised everybody. Veli Bey told him that he was waiting only for orders from the Pasha to burn him alive.

" 'I am not afraid of you,' replied the boy, 'for my father will do the same thing to your father or to your brother if he lays hands on them.' "

Ali Pasha gathered his Albanian forces and decided to crush the Greeks of Souli. He appeared before his troops and spoke to them.

"My brave soldiers, you know very well how many evils the infidel Greeks have brought upon us; how many towns and villages they have taken away from us; how many lands they have snatched away from our possession. If today we leave them alive, they will gradually dare to seize our homes, and capture our wives and children.

"I, with your valor, have subdued all the other Greeks; I have put to flight all my enemies, and now it is a shame that a handful of robber infidels should make us bolt our doors for fear of them. Remember how much blood has been shed by our brethren the Ottomans for the conquests

of these lands? Now it is time for us to avenge their death, and to exterminate these troublesome Greeks. Our forces are many and brave. Today we need not much ammunition. With swords in hands we will slaughter them. Those of you who are valorous, and faithful Mohammedans, will show it today. I promise to all those who enter Souli victorious five hundred piastres each."

Three thousand select Albanians rushed with unsheathed swords and swore by the Prophet not to return until Souli was captured.

The battle raged for hours, without decision. Suddenly there was a lull towards the latter part of the afternoon. Both sides were exhausted by their fighting all the forenoon under a hot July sun.

The Greek women of the Souliotes, taking this lull to mean that the Greeks had been completely exterminated, came together to decide what they should do. Moscho, the wife of Captain Tjavella, rose and said to them:

"Sisters, the war has come to an end. The Albanians, it seems, have conquered, and have slaughtered our men and our boys—all our citizens. What must we do? Shall we surrender to the Turks? Shall we become slaves? Or shall we die like our men and our boys?"

"Death, death," cried out all the women.

"If you prefer death," cried out Moscho, "take up arms and follow me. Let the old women and the babies remain behind, and let them after our death cast them down these rocks, and themselves jump after them."

Over three hundred Greek women followed Moscho with arms.

When they came near the battle-field and learned that there had come a lull to the battle owing to the exhaustion of the combatants, they decided that it would be an opportune time to attack the exhausted enemy, and they risked their lives to save their country.

Moscho rushed first, crying to her followers, "At them, at them, sisters, why do you look at the dogs?"

The yells of the women and the onrush of three hundred Souliote men to their aid, so disheartened the Albanians that they began to flee.

When Ali learned that his army of three thousand Albanians had been routed by the women of the Epirotes, he threw himself to the ground and tearing his cheeks he groaned in Albanian, "Bo, bo, Mendet Allah." "Alas, alas, pity me, my God."

Pouqueville writes that in this battle the Albanians were 10,000 and the Souliotes 2,000 strong.

The Greek popular muse has put into beautiful verse the heroic defense made by the women of Souli.

"Three flags unfurled 'neath Souli,
The one is of Muctar Pasha, the other o' Sellictari,
The third, and proudest of them all
Belonged to proudest Metzoboni.
And Derno Drakos, loud of voice,
Cried out from the high Souli:
Where do you go, you Scotara,
And you, hound, Sellictari,
This is not Harmovo *the frail*,
Nor craven Lamboviza.
To make the women widow slaves
And drag the babes to slaughter.
This is the Souli, heroes' nest,
Where women fight for freedom,
Where Moscho girdles her broad sword
And cries to women, 'Follow,
Follow to slaughter every foe,
Follow to strike a deadly blow,
Follow to make our sires' homes free!' "

In 1797 the French occupied the town of Preveza near Parga in the Adriatic Sea.

Ali treacherously attacked the town with 4,000 Albanians. The French detachment and the Greek inhabitants put up a heroic resistance, but were cut down.

Soon the city of Nicopolis was surrendered. Two hun-

dred French soldiers were captured and beheaded at Jannina. More than four hundred men (Greeks), and one thousand women and children were carried into shameful captivity. The men were slaughtered. The women were sold to the haremliks, and the children Mohammedanized.

More than ten wars had already been made by Ali against the Souliotes and the Pargiotes. He had delivered Epirus to destruction through sword, slaughter, and fire. He had made the Epirotes slaves to his Albanian mercenaries. He had not, however, been able to subdue the Souliotes and the Pargiotes.

Tired and despairing of defeating the brave defenders of Greek freedom, Ali proposed peace.

The Souliotes were in great need of supplies, and although they had no faith in Ali's promises and agreements, they decided to conclude a temporary peace.

Ali was made to swear solemnly that he would respect the treaty. Thirty Epirotes were sent to negotiate the treaty.

Ali seized and butchered them. Upon this occasion the Epirotes sent the following letter to Ali:

"Ali Pasha, greetings.

"Your conduct does nothing more than increase our detestation of your character, and inflame our rage to punish you for your treachery.

"Remember that so far you have murdered treacherously forty-seven of our citizens. You have added to the sacrifices on the altar of our Fatherland thirty more victims. This additional sacrifice makes us more determined that our freedom shall never be taken away from us while we live.

"All the Souliotes,
"Young and Old."

From that time on the Souliotes decided unanimously never to accept any more letters from Ali. Accordingly,

all the letters which came from him were thrown into the fire without being opened.

The war continued, and the Epirotes kept harassing the forces of the Albanian Tyrant.

Ali, realizing the needy condition of the Epirotes, thought that a generous offer of peace would induce them to lay down their arms. He offered them the following terms:

1. To pay them 2,000 pounds.
2. To allow them to move to any other place in Greece proper, provided they agreed never to return to Epirus.

The Souliotes gave the following reply:

"Vizier Ali Pasha, we greet you.

"Our Fatherland is by far sweeter than all your money, and all the happy and fertile lands you promise us. You labor in vain. We never sell our freedom. You cannot buy it with all the treasures of the earth. We are determined to defend it until the last drop of our blood is spilt, until the last Souliote is dead.

"The Souliotes,
"YOUNG AND OLD."

Then Ali attempted to buy off certain leaders of the Epirotes. He sent a proposal to Captain Zervas. He proposed to him that if Souli was surrendered to the Albanians, Zervas would receive eight hundred pounds, and would be appointed governor of any province he might desire.

Captain Zervas replied: "I thank you, my Vizier, for the love you have for me. As to the eight hundred pounds, I pray you, do not send them to me, because I do not know how to count them. Even if I had known how to count them, I would not be willing to give you one pebble from my native land in exchange. The high honors you promise are worthless to me. Wealth and honors are to me my

rifle and my sword, which defend the freedom of my country, and make my name immortal.

"Souli, May 4, 1801,
"JEMAS ZERVAS."

Despite all his failures, either to subdue or to expel the Epirotes, who clung to their ancestral traditions and refused to be Albanicized, Ali was not discouraged. He approached Tjavella and promised to recompense him if he could persuade the Souliotes to abandon Epirus and move away to other lands in Western Europe.

The Souliotes, surrounded on every side by enemies, hungering and needing ammunition, began to think of some arrangement with Ali.

Botzaris, one of the great leaders, was inclined to come to an understanding with Ali, believing that this Satrap would refrain from exterminating the Epirotes if they showed a disposition to submit to him. But Tjavella urged that so long as Ali lived there could be no hope for any humane treatment of the Greeks. He insisted upon war to the bitter end. Botzaris became tired of the continuous wars which were weakening the numerical strength of the last defenders of Greek freedom in Epirus. He accepted the terms of Ali. One of the terms was that Tjavella be expelled from Souli.

Ali hoped that with the departure of the most formidable enemy of the Albanians, Souli would soon fall victim to him.

Tjavella left his country and went to Parga. His wife and children had been given to Ali as hostages. From Parga Tjavella wrote to Ali:

"Most High Vizier: Do not imagine, that you will find me timid because you have in your possession my wife and my children. The love of my Country makes me forget my wife and my children. You are in possession of them, do as you will with them. As for me and my people we

will never surrender to you our arms while we are alive.

"December 4, 1803,
PHOTOS TJAVELLA,
"And all the Souliotes,
"YOUNG AND OLD."

Tjavella returned from Parga, and tried to persuade Botzaris that Ali would show himself treacherous and would ruin the Greeks. He advised that the Epirotes denounce the treaty and keep up the war to the last. But Botzaris did not follow this sound advice of Tjavella. The people of Souli were thus divided into two sections, one went with Tjavella at Kounghi, the other under Botzaris remained in Souli.

Ali sent 7,000 Albanians to overtake and slaughter the followers of Tjavella before they reached Parga, but the prowess of this peerless Greek warrior saved the day for the few hundreds of Epirotes.

Thus the heroic acropolis of Hellenic freedom in Souli was surrendered to the cruel invaders.

Botzaris and his followers went to Voungarelli, while Photomaras and Palaskas, two other great leaders with numerous followers, encamped near Zalongon awaiting the execution of the terms of the treaty whereby Ali was expected to give not only money, but also cattle and lands to these Epirotes.

The monk, Samuel, alone remained in Souli, the last Greek in that heroic citadel of Hellenic traditions.

When the Albanians entered the town, Samuel allowed many of them to come into the tower and, setting fire to the powder stored there, blew the tower up, killing himself and hundreds of the enemy.

After the departure of Tjavella Ali sent three thousand Albanians to attack Palaskas and Photomaras at Zalongon.

When the Albanian chiefs Mouchtari and Benco came with their three thousand Albanians, instead of bringing

food and money, as the treaty provided, they ordered the Epirotes to follow them into captivity to Jannina; Palaskas in a brief council with the three hundred Epirotes decided to give battle and to perish rather than be carried as slaves to Jannina.

The battle raged until the next morning. The handful of Epirotes, surrounded on every side, were falling rapidly. Then, their wives taking their children made a circle. The elder of them singing a chant threw herself down the rock of Zalongan. The other women with the children in their arms holding one another by the hand as they danced jumped down the precipice, dying free.

Only Palaskas and a score more of his men survived that terrible day.

Another army was sent by Ali to Voulgareli and Reniassa to exterminate the Souliotes under Botzaris.

The cruel hordes of Ali entered Reniassa. The men of the town were in a council meeting with Botzaris at Voulgareli. All the women and children of the town were defenceless.

The wife of George Bozzi, a Captain, heard the Albanians smashing the doors of her home. She called her family of eleven, boys and girls, and asked them: "Which do you prefer, my children, the shameful life of slavery, or the glorious death of heroes and martyrs?"

"Death, death!" replied the boys and girls.

Then the brave mother drew to the middle of the room a box full of gun-powder, called her children close together in a circle around the box, and taking a lighted torch, set fire to the gun-powder. The heroic family of George Bozzi met death that it might not be carried away to slavery.

Finally, Ali gave battle for the last time against the remnants of the Epirotes of Souli near the Monastery of Selizo. After a desperate struggle of three months the Albanians, 3,000 strong, succeeded in defeating the few hundred Souliotes, whose women rushed and threw

themselves into the river at Selizo in order to escape dishonor. The tragic and heroic history of Epirus in the 19th century rivals the heroic struggles of Greece against the Persians.

But our purpose is not to write a history of Epirus. We have dwelt so long upon this period because it is the period during which Epirus began to be subjected to a cruel oppression, to a savage persecution and to a forced Albanification.

The history of Parga, its criminal sale by an unenlightened British Government to the Albanian Tyrant, and the departure of the entire population of Parga to escape the madness of Ali, are familiar to the students of the history of the Greek Revolution of 1821.

From the numerous quotations from Leake, Pouqueville, Eaton and Perrhebus we can readily understand that Epirus has since 1800 undergone a most unprecedented process of violent Albanification.

The marvel is that the Province of Epirus has retained so strongly its Hellenic sentiment in spite of an oppression which would have extinguished the national character of any other race less tenaciously attached to its ancestral traditions.

It is only ignorance of history that makes certain well-meaning people write that the people of Epirus have been Hellenized. The historical truth is that a large portion of the Hellenic population of Epirus has succumbed to cruel oppression, and has turned Mohammedan, and lost its mother-tongue.

Pouqueville enumerates at least eighty villages which he had seen in ruins, after the Greek inhabitants had been murdered or driven to other lands by the ferocity of the Mohammedans.

One of the things which make many learned people think that Northern Epirus is Albanian, is the geographical term generally given to this Province by geographers and historians of recent decades.

Mr. Caillard, as we have seen, refers to the time when Epirus was completely subjected to Turkey.

"Epirus was demanded by Turkey as being so near to Albania" (not being part of Albania, mind you, but only near Albania).

In 1800 then, Epirus was included in the Turkish Province of Albania and the geographers and historians, following this arbitrary name, given to Epirus by Turkey, called it Southern Albania.

Now it is no more logical to conclude that because Northern Epirus is called technically Southern Albania, it is Albanian in character, than to conclude that because Macedonia was a Turkish Province its inhabitants are Turks, or that because Poland was a Province of Germany, its inhabitants are Germans.

Mr. Caillard in the April issue of the *Fortnightly Review* of 1885 writes:

"The country may be divided into three parts, viz.: Guegania or N. Albania, Toskania or Central Albania, and Epirus or South Albania. The latter can be said to be Albanian only in an arbitrary sense. On the coast line are the Tschams who are fast becoming Hellenized by their close intercourse with the Epirotes, whose fortunes they would probably prefer to follow. Their sympathies are so little with the Albanians, that when the latter came trampling down from the north to demonstrate against the Greeks, they threatened, as harvest time was near, to oppose them by force of arms, should they encroach upon their territories. As for the Epirotes, they may be considered as purely Greeks. Their language is Greek, their names are Greek, they are thoroughly Greek in thought and feeling, habits and religion."

B. 1821–1912.

In 1821 the Greek Revolution broke out, in which the Epirotes played the most important and the most heroic

rôle. It was the indomitable courage of the Epirotes that attracted Lord Byron. It was the personality of Marco Botzaris, the romantic warrior of Epirus, that made Lord Byron write:

"And yet how lovely is thine eye of woe,
Land of lost gods and god-like men art thou,
Again the Hellenes are free!"

And

"Fill high the bowl with Samian wine!
On Souli's rock and Parga's shore,
Exists the remnant of a line
Such as the Doric mothers bore."

Caraïscakis, who cleared Central Greece from all the Turks and captured Athens, was an Epirote from Northern Epirus.

Messolonghi has become another Platea by the heroic death of Botzaris. The names of the Epirotes, the most brilliant of all the heroes of the Greek Revolution, might fill up a volume.

When Greece was proclaimed free and independent, Epirus was left out together with Crete, Macedonia, the Islands, Thrace and the coasts of Asia Minor.

England was afraid that a greater Greece would be a tool in Russian hands, and managed to make of Greece the smallest and poorest State in Europe.

But the eyes of the Epirotes were ever turned towards Greece.

The Greek world knew that Epirus was responsible for the liberation of a part of the Greek race. The Turks took very drastic measures to crush the rebellious and independent spirit of the Epirotes who had brought success to the sanguinary struggle of the Greek Revolution.

The Albanians had shown themselves the most cruel enemies of the revolted Greeks during the stupendous struggle for their independence.

The Sultans therefore initiated a policy of Albanian

aggrandizement at the expense of the Greek Epirotes.

From 1830 to 1912 the Greek Epirotes underwent a period of relentless oppression on the part of the Albanians. Only the obstinacy of the Epirotes and their undying attachment to their native land have frustrated the indefatigable efforts of the Albanians to crush the Greek sentiment in Epirus.

In 1897 the Greek soldiers made their first dash for Epirus. I remember the supreme joy of the Epirotes at the news that the Greek forces were coming to free us and to unite us with our mother country, Hellas.

I remember the desperation which seized us when we learned that those Greek soldiers, our brothers, had been driven back by the Albanians under Edem Pasha at Larissa.

The sultans knew that the Conference of Berlin had decreed that Epirus was to be joined to Greece and they did everything to exterminate the Greek feeling in Epirus. But the most terrible blow that was given to Epirus was under the régime of the Young Turks who appointed an Albanian governor at Jannina. The Epirotes had not had an Albanian governor since the days of Ali. They trembled, recalling the terrible acts of that Satrap. And they had every reason to tremble. The Albanian Governor upon his arrival initiated a policy of violent Albanification. The leading Greek families of Epirus were proscribed. Our clergy were persecuted. Our schools which had been respected by the Sultans from the time of Ali Pasha were attacked by the Albanian Governor. He was instructed by the Young Turks to strike a deadly blow at the Greek element in Epirus.

Thanks, however, to the extreme severity of the Young Turks, and their blind zeal for Turkifying all the races in their empire, they succeeded in rousing the anger of the Albanians, who rose in revolt in 1908.

It was in 1908 that the Greek Premier Theotokis wrote to Ismael Kemal Bey asking what were the aims of the

Albanians as to Epirus should Greece assist the Albanians to win their independence.

Ismael replied that the just boundaries between Albania and Greece should be a line drawn from Valona to Monastir.

Greece was ready to assist the Albanians. But Ismael Kemal's idea of independence did not appeal to the Albanians. They did not care for independence. They were satisfied under the Turkish rule. They objected only to taxation and compulsory military service.

As soon as the Young Turks were forced to yield these points to the Albanians, the latter laid down their arms, and became again the devoted servants of the Empire.

The danger to the Greeks now became more imminent. The Young Turks, having failed in their attempt to Turkify the Albanians found it next best to Albanicize the Greeks, the Serbs and the Vlachs.

It was the danger which confronted Epirus, that compelled Mr. Venizelos to hasten the consolidation of the Balkan Alliance before the Greek Army had been completely organized.

The Epirotes were sorely pressed. Young Turks, Albanians, Austrian propaganda, Italian propaganda were desperately resisted by the Epirotes, but the odds were too many against them. The war of 1912 came just in time to save Epirus from a violent denationalization.

C. 1912–1914

The Balkan Wars of 1912 are fresh in our memories. We remember how the Greek Army advanced in Epirus and was received with untold enthusiasm by the Epirotes.

We well remember the atrocities of the Albanians who fled before the Greeks. More than 40,00 Epirotes had escaped to the Island of Corfu. More than fifty villages

in Northern Epirus were sacked and burned by the retreating Albanian soldiers under the Young Turks.

The Albanians knew that they would never again have a chance to rob the Christian Greeks and destroyed everything as they went.

Thus after 500 years of servitude and of continuous struggle for freedom the Epirotes were free.

Unfortunately, Austria and Italy, who had looked upon Epirus and Albania for years as their legitimate prey, realizing that so long as the Balkan Alliance existed neither of them could hope to seize Albania and Epirus, under the pretext of championing Albania, demanded that Greece should withdraw from lands which had dreamed of the Greek flag ever since the 13th century, A. D.

The events which followed after the withdrawal of the Greek troops from Northern Epirus have been narrated in the first part of this brochure.

We have passed cursorily over the entire history of Epirus. We have allowed authors of recognized repute to tell the history of this heroic province. We shall now examine its ethnological character.

CHAPTER IV

ETHNOLOGY

1. *Definition of Nationality*

BEFORE we begin to give any data or statistics we should consider briefly what we mean by ethnology or nationality.

In the last decades two opposite theories of nationality have been advanced. The one is Prussian, the other Franco-British.

Germany believes that Poland is German because it is absolutely indispensable to the well-being of Germany; Schleswig-Holstein is needed by Germany on account of the Kiel Canal, therefore it is German. Alsace-Lorraine is German because the language of these Provinces is German.

To the contention that Poland, Schleswig-Holstein, and Alsace-Lorraine are opposed to union with Germany, the Prussians answer, that these Provinces are German and if their inhabitants do not submit to Germanization, it is the business of the German Government to use any means which will achieve such Germanization.

The Franco-British theory of nationality may be gathered from the following:

Lord Cromer in reviewing a splendid book by Mr. Toynbee on *New Europe* in the *Spectator* of March 1916, wrote as follows:

"Every Democratic European will certainly agree that the basis of the reconstruction of the map of Europe must be sought in the more ample recognition of the principle of nationality.

"Only a few peoples have grown up to nationality in

the whole course of history. The great majority of living populations are undoubtedly unripe for it.

"What is a nation? The French scholar Casaubon was once taken to the great hall of the Sorbonne, and was told by the guide that on that spot discussions had been going on for centuries. He asked 'Qu' a-t-on décidé?'

"The same question may be asked today in regard to a nation. Centuries of discussions have taken place, and the question is 'Qu' a-t-on décidé?' "

But if abstract philosophy has failed, the experience of statesmen whose life-time has been spent in governing nascent nationalities may assist us to standardize our ideas of what "a nation" is.

Lord Cromer wrote: "Community of race, religion and language does not in itself suffice to create a common and binding national sentiment.

"The South American States are almost purely Spanish in blood and in language and Catholic in religion. They were united in the achievement of one common object—their severance from the Old World. *Nationality must involve a will to co-operate. Where that will is conspicuous by its absence no nationality can, in the proper sense of the word, be said to exist.*

"When a cause invokes historical sentiment on its behalf, that cause is bankrupt of arguments reasonably applicable to the actual situation."

Mr. Toynbee in his *Future of Europe* writes:

"We do not think of nationality statistically, in terms of square miles, or human units, any of which can be balanced and if necessary bartered against any other. For us, nationality is the spiritual experience and self expression of a human society. Our nation's existence is internal cohesion.

"A national democracy is a living organism and it can no more multiply or decrease the parts of which it is composed than a man can add a cubit to his stature, or survive decapitation. The less concrete manifestations

of social life in which nationality finds still greater sustenance are literature, art, religion. If an Alsatian prefers to read French poetry, rather than German, then he is French. If he likes to read Schiller rather than Guizot, or Heine rather than Lamartine, then he is a German."

Then Mr. Toynbee analyses the German theory of nationality.

He observes that the Germans hold that nationality is a "Legal Title."

"The Treaty of San Stephano gave Bulgaria almost the entire Balkan Peninsula. Therefore, Bulgaria is legally entitled by agreement to the Balkan Peninsula.

"A nationality is not determined by the will of the people, but by the mutual relations of the dynasties.

"The ordeal of battle is a fair test of despotism's title to claim a people.

"The dynast's ambitions constitute the principle of national action.

"Nationality is economic expansion, therefore the people of Alsace-Lorraine are Germans, the Greeks in Thrace and the Greeks and Serbs in Macedonia are Bulgars. The small nations surrounding Germany are necessary complements to the protection and economic development of the Fatherland. Therefore, they are German.

"Nationality is language. Flemings and Alsatians must be swept into the net because they speak German, despite their devotion to their respective nationalities.

"Nationality is historical sentiment. The Turks cannot leave Adrianople because the tombs of the Sultans are there. The Bulgars must have Ochrida because the first Exarchate was established there in the Middle Ages.

"The Germans claim Belgium and Burgundy because the mediaeval empire claimed them as its own."

This historical sentiment is as ridiculous to the Franco-British as would be the claim that Normandy is British because the Plantagenets claimed it.

"What a people wins in battle belongs to it." Herr

Dernburg said to America that Belgium belonged to Germany because the Germans had shed much blood to conquer it. Why on the same score the Belgians are not entitled to Belgium for having shed more blood in defending it, is not at all clear.

Here we see historical sentiment at its highest. It can hypnotize a whole nation into calling evil, good, a determination to hold by brute force and by nothing else.

The mentality of the Germans and of the Bulgarians is very happily explained by Mr. Toynbee in the following passage.

"The elder nations of Europe have kept their faces inflexibly fixed towards the future; Germany and Bulgaria have committed the sin of Lot's wife and have been mastered by the hypnotism of the past."

In conclusion the English idea of a nation is:

"A concrete aggregate of people habitually in touch with one another, capable any day of reading the same poetry, or the same newspapers, of celebrating the same festival, of having the same referendum put to them, or of electing the same political representative.

"Language and culture, tradition and environment, the present will to cooperate in a political organization, all these together constitute a given nationality."

Mr. Clemenceau in his *L'Homme Libre,* some years ago was the first to enunciate the principle so lucidly developed by Mr. Toynbee.

"What if I speak German?" wrote Mr. Clemenceau. "If I feel French, then I am a Frenchman."

During a meeting of the members of the Royal Geographical Society in January, 1915, Professor Lyde, who holds a chair on Economic Geography, lectured on "Types of Political Frontiers." Professor Lyde, paying attention only to economic matters, included many groups of nationalities in foreign states.

Professor Spencer Wilkinson opened the discussion as to what "nationality" is, and said,

"There can be no one single criterion. We cannot lay down that merely community of speech makes a nation. There must be something more. I think, broadly speaking we all understand what nationality is, and I think that we should wish that if there are to be new borders in Europe, they should be so drawn as to bring into one fold, under one government, those people whose whole desire and wish is to form a single nation together.

"When traveling through Macedonia a few years ago, I had the pleasure of travelling with a Greek lady with whom I discussed for a long time the question of the proper place of Macedonia. She asserted that a very large part of Macedonia, a much larger part than I could believe, was Greek, and that their country ought to belong to Greece. She referred to the peasants on her father's estates as being Greeks who talked Bulgarian, and I said, 'Surely, people who talk Bulgarian are Bulgars.'

" 'Not a bit," she replied. 'The test of nationality is not their speech, but their will, "la volonté de chacun." '

"I am bound to say I could not answer her.

"Has it not been a cause of very great trouble to Europe that for forty years a piece of territory, which no doubt was to a large extent German-speaking, Alsace-Lorraine, has been included in the boundaries of Germany, and the Germans could not assimilate its population?" (*Royal Geographic Magazine,* February, 1915.)

Taking then, the Franco-British, and not the Germanic definition of nationality let us examine how far it can be proved that the Epirotes and the Albanians have the requisites for forming one nation.

2. *The Albanians as a Nation*

In the first place we shall examine the "will to co-operate" of the Albanians and the Epirotes. Have the Albanians a will to co-operate among themselves?

In *Blackwood's Magazine* of April, 1903, Mr. Reginald

Wyon, who visited Albania and studied the people, wrote as follows:—

"As to the people themselves, spoken of collectively as Albanians or sometimes as Arnauts, the idea gained thereby is erroneous. They must first be divided into three parts according to the three religions, namely, Mohammedans, Greek Orthodox Christians, and Roman Catholic Christians. These three religious factions constitute *three entirely different peoples* each animated by fanatical hatred of the others, and they are subdivided into clans and factions *ad lib.* As each clan can be reckoned as a miniature autocratic kingdom, ready at any moment to go to war with its next door neighbor, the anarchy existing all over Albania can be faintly imagined."

And again he writes: "The numerous clans live absolutely independent of each other, some in blood-feud, where they shoot each other at sight whenever they meet; several of these disputes occur annually amongst themselves. Sometimes, the slaughter is great, at others they are content with half a dozen killed on each side."

Dr. E. J. Dillon wrote in the *Contemporary Review* of April, 1903:

"Each tribe hates the other with religious rancour."

"A war-like nation like the Albanians would have long since won absolute independence and founded a powerful Balkan state, had it not been for the utter absence of any national striving for ideals.

"During all the centuries of their chequered existence they have never advanced beyond the tribal stage, not even when the Albanian League was founded at Turkey's instigation (1878) in order to work for the restitution of Goosinye and Plava to Albania."

In the *Spectator* of November 3, 1913, in an editorial, "The Future of Albania," we read,

"The Mohammendans and the Christians carry on civil war. The Tosks and the Guegs (Ghegs) never agree. The internal weakness of the country is increasing."

And in the same publication of February 21, 1914, we read:

"Our sincere wishes for the success of Prince William of Wied, who is about to enter the new Kingdom of Albania. A more picturesque, a more sporting, a more hazardous, or a more speculative enterprise for a ruler to undertake can hardly be imagined. The Albanians have never lent themselves to discipline and a demand for taxes will seem to many of them a kind of official brigandage—so long have they been able to avoid paying them.

"Prince William of Wied will find the people split into more groups than ever; the main divisions of Guegs and Tosks, of Moslems, Roman Catholics and members of the Orthodox Church, are complicated by the allegiance to various chieftains who see new opportunities for personal ambition, and by an appreciable sentimental attachment to Turkey that lingers on in certain districts."

And in the *Spectator* of May 23, 1914, "Essad Pasha's idea of reconciliation, of having Prince William as a Mpret (Bret), was not real. He had enjoyed, as Minister of War, more power than was good for him, and at last, the Mpret, who had been kept informed of his ambitious doings, challenged his intentions by requiring him to reduce his body-guard. Essad Pasha declined and barricaded himself in his house. He refused to surrender to the gendarmerie and fired on them when they surrounded the house."

In the *Spectator* of May 23, 1914, we read:

"Essad is gone, but the spirit of Essad will live on. The trouble is the same as it was under Abdul Hamid; the Albanians object to paying taxes and to giving compulsory personal service to a settled government. Various factions have also their various grievances; questions of language, religion and so on. But the instinct of the best fighting men among them is to place personal loyalty, however arduous, to a feudal Chieftain before tame and con-

ventional submission to a central power. Any one who has a large enough number of troops at his disposal is 'King of the Road' in Albania."

The Ex-Envoy of the United States to Athens, Mr. George Fred Williams, so notorious for his Albanophilism, wrote in *Harper's Weekly* of April 24, 1915:

"Within a few weeks of his advent, Prince Wied had Mohammedans killing Greeks in Christian Epirus, and Catholics slaughtering Mohammedans within view of his palace.

"Wied was installed on February 21st and on May 24th he fled from his palace with his family and took refuge in the Italian cruiser Misurata.

"On the 15th of June the Commander, Colonel Thompson, was killed and hundreds of men were slaughtered in the marshes.

"I was surprised at the hurly-burly which I found at Durazzo. Everyone was at sword's point with everybody else.

"Three months after this the Prince, his family, his Court, his Cabinet, the Commissioners, Foreign Ministers, gendarmes, soldiers and warships had fled from Durazzo and Albania was left as she is now without a government."

In *The Near East* of April 5, 1918, we read the following:

"Miss Garnett's contribution to our knowledge of Albania is valuable. *Here is a classic instance of a house divided against itself.* Apart from the fact that the Moslems constitute more than one half of the population, the prevailing tendency of the Highlanders is to become Moslems and of the Greek Christians to emigrate to Greece. In the course of time the country will become Mussulman."

Innumerable testimonies of travellers, historians and statesmen might be adduced to prove that the Albanians have no national consciousness, and are altogether want-

ing in "the will to co-operate" which is the essential of a nationality.

This truth is very unintelligible to Western peoples. Mr. H. W. Brailsford, a veteran writer on Eastern Questions, gives us the key to Balkan nationalism in a valuable study in the *Contemporary Review* of April, 1918:

"The Arabs may have been bad subjects of the Turks, in the sense that they disliked taxation, conscription and any rule whatever other than that of their tribal chiefs; but they resisted our occupation and have no aspirations for a more elaborate civilisation. The Arabs of the Hedjaz undoubtedly wish to be left alone, as nomads always do. It would be a grave mistake, however, to suppose that these primitive Arabs are nationalists as the Greeks and the Armenians are.

"We shall go astray if we talk of liberating non-Turkish Moslems from Turkish rule. The people who most need protection are the Christians."

Dr. E. J. Dillon makes a similar remark in the *Contemporary Review* of April, 1903:

"In Turkey, Islam is the faith of conquerors; Christianity the creed of slaves. Islam has not modified its character any more than the leopard has changed his spots.

"Between Moslems and Christians there can be no equality. How can there be justice and equity?

"We are told that Hilmi Pasha is an honorable man. So was Shakir Pasha an honorable man, who went to Armenia to introduce reforms. Shakir Pasha remained the honorable man that he had been, but the Armenians, whose lot he had come to better, were sent to the next world in thousands, and the word reform was blotted out of the vocabulary of the people of those parts."

Miss M. E. Durham, the foremost champion of a superlative Albania, at the expense of the Greek Epirotes and the Serbians, is candid enough to make the following remarkable statement in the *Spectator* of July 22, 1911:

"Europe has a strange idea that the nature of the Turk has undergone a complete and magical transformation."

Now, these remarks of Dr. Dillon, Mr. Brailsford, and Miss Durham, are of no inconsiderable interest.

Two-thirds of Albania is Mohammedan, of the most fanatical type. The Mohammedan Albanians for five hundred years have been considering the Christian Greeks and Serbs about them as slaves, "rayas." They have oppressed, persecuted, robbed, and maltreated the Christians, as inferiors.

By what accident is it that those same ignorant Mohammedans have altered their old ideas about the status of their Christian neighbors?

If the Christians are put under one and the same government with a vast majority of these ignorant and fanatic Moslems, will it not be natural for them to deal with the Christians in the standard Moslem method—as "inferiors," as "slaves," as "rayas"?

But aside from the difficulty of the inequality, and the resulting hatred between the Moslem and Christian, the Albanians are divided hopelessly Moslem against Moslem, in an infinity of tribes and clans.

We have seen from the testimonies of eminent writers that the Albanian people as a whole does not aspire to become a united nation. The Albanians as a whole do not demand that Epirus be included in Albania. They object to a united, and a constituted government of Albania.

Now we shall next consider the Epirotes, their desire for union, their will to co-operate with Greece, and their hatred and abhorrence of Albania:

3. *National Sentiment of the Epirotes*

Mr. Toynbee in his *Greek Policies Since 1883* (p. 26 and following) writes:

"Greek nationalism is not an artificial conception of theorists, but a real force which impels all fragments of

Greek-speaking populations to make sustained efforts towards political union within the national state; the most striking example of this attractive power is afforded by the problem of Epirus (Himara, Argyrocastro, Korytza).

"The Epirotes turned to the Greeks with whom they were linked in religion and politics by subjection to the government at Jannina, which employed Greek as its official language. They had appealed to the right quarter, for Greek culture under the Turkish yoke had accumulated a store of latent energy which converted itself into a vigorous national revival.

"The case of Epirus is a good example of what Greek nationalism has meant during the last century. The Hellenism of today, although it is not the same as that of Ancient Hellas, yet has a genuine vitality of its own. It displays a power of assimilating alien elements to an active participation in its ideals, and its allegiance supplants all others in the hearts of those exposed to its charm.

" 'We are Greeks like every one else, but we happen to speak Albanian, some of us,' said the Northern Epirotes to me.

"The influence of Greek culture and its latent powers found expression in Epirus in a universal enthusiasm for education which has opened to individual Greeks commercial and professional careers of the greatest brilliance and often led them to spend the fortunes so acquired in endowing the nation with further educational facilities.

"Public spirit is a Greek virtue; there are few villages which do not possess monuments of their successful sons, and a school is an even commoner gift than a church, while the State in Epirus has done nothing to help the Greeks.

"The school house, in fact, is the most prominent and substantial building in an Epirotic village, and the gains which their alliance with the Greek nation has brought to the Greek Epirotes are symbolised generously throughout their country. For the Epirote the school is the door to

fortune and to his future. The language he learns there makes him a member of a nation, and opens to him a world wide enough to employ all the talent and energy he may possess if he seeks his future at Patras or Peiraeus, or in the great Greek communities of Alexandria and Constantinople. While if he stays at home it still affords him a link with the life of civilized Europe through the medium of the ubiquitous Greek newspaper. The Epirote then has become Greek in soul; he has reached the conception of a national life more liberal than the isolated existence of his native village through the avenue of Greek culture, so that 'Hellenism' and nationality have become for him identical ideas, and when at last the hour of deliverance struck, he welcomed the Greek Armies that marched into his Country from the South and from the East after the fall of Jannina in the Spring of 1913, with the same enthusiasm with which all the other enslaved fragments of the Greek nation greeted the consummation of a century's hopes."

But we may go a little further back. Pouqueville who spent ten years in Epirus has known the heart of the Epirotes. In connection with the ethnology of the Epirotes he writes in Book I, Chap. 1, p. 3, of his *History of Greece:*

"Ali Tepelen was born about 1740. The unfortunate descendants of Hellen counted then 300 years of slavery and twenty-five centuries of historical traditions, conserved among them, to remind them of their origin. They were like those Gods banished from Olympus. They escaped the wreck because they had cast their anchor of faith in the bosom of a religion to which the Most High has promised duration for all time. But not so with their oppressors."

It is very clear that the Epirotes are not the same as the Albanians. The former are united among themselves and their will is expressed for co-operation with Greece.

Dr. Dillon in the *Contemporary Review* of April, 1903, writes:

"The Albanians have withstood the efforts of the Greeks, Romans, Slavs and Turks to assimilate them."

But the Epirotes at least are assimilated by the Greeks. This shows that there is a difference of sentiment and national aspirations between the Epirotes and the Albanians.

When in 1914, Austria and Italy forced Greece to abandon Epirus the inhabitants of Northern Epirus took up arms and repelled the Albanians. The Epirotes asked union with Greece. But the insistence of Italy forced them to be satisfied with the declaration of an Independent State. The *Spectator* of April 11, 1914, said:

"The rising which is now embarrassing Prince William and is causing him to contemplate taking the field at the head of an Albanian Army was only to be expected.

"It is a wretched beginning to the reign of Prince William, and he has only himself to thank and not the perversity or wickedness of the Epirote fire-brands, who are only behaving in the manner that could confidently have been predicted.

"It is true that men of Greek race and speech in Northern Epirus are cut off from their natural affinities.

"Northern Epirus has been spoken of as the Ulster of Greece. When the Powers decided to include Northern Epirus within the boundaries of Albania, they did so because they could not agree on any other solution, and merely accepted the plan that divided them least.

"It cannot be denied that as Northern Epirus is in very large part Greek, the people clamor for union with Greece."

And the *Literary Digest* of April 18, 1914, under "Greek Revolt in Albania" wrote:

"The 250,000 Greeks who were included in the new Albania by the Powers are reported in revolt, and Prince William of Wied, the Lohengrin of the German Court, thus finds opportunity to show his mettle at the outset of his reign. The Greeks of Epirus expected to be united with their fatherland under the treaty parcelling out the

Balkan territory, and were disappointed, so they propose fighting to bring Epirus under the Greek flag. Reports in the European press say that they hold the important town of Korytza."

Mr. George Fred Williams wrote in *Harper's Weekly* of April 24, 1915:

"Meanwhile the Epirotes declared their independence.

"The native Mohammedans opposed Wied by force. Wied purchased troops from the Roman Catholic mountaineers of the North to defend Durazzo. He had also native Mohammedan adherents in Valona, south of Durazzo, where he raised troops to attack the Orthodox Christian Epirotes and the Mohammedan insurgents of Middle Albania within a few weeks of his advent."

In the *Delineator* of July, 1915, we read:

"Albania (as delimited by Italy and Austria), includes the land of Epirus, one of the adored daughters of Greece, which like Thrace and Macedonia, is ever looking to the Mother to free her from the foreign yoke."

Bursian in his *Geographie von Griechenland* (I Paragraph 9), when he describes the modern inhabitants of Epirus, writes:

"Pogoniani (a district in Northern Epirus with more than forty-five towns and villages) is thoroughly Greek."

Mr. René Puaux was the *Temps* correspondent in Epirus in 1913–1914. Mr. Valley and Mr. Jessen were the correspondents of French and German papers respectively.

The three correspondents wrote what they saw passing under their eyes in Epirus, when the Powers were preparing to surrender Northern Epirus to Albania.

Mr. René Puaux writes in his book, *La Malheureuse Épire:*

"Mr. Valley and Mr. Jessen as well as I wired from Epirus what we saw with our own eyes.

"If I succeed in persuading the French People to sympathize with the Epirotes and with their wonderful

love for Hellas, their Mother, and if I be able to offer my poor services for the struggle of the Epirotes, one of the most beautiful struggles, I shall feel the most sacred joy. Whatever may happen, the things I witnessed, the recollections, and the holy patriotism of the Epirotes move me. And when I think of them I am moved to tears."

In his correspondence to the *Temps* of May 1, from Corfu he wrote:

"Ten thousand Epirotes, refugees, have arrived here. The Albanians have burnt their homes.

"But after the fall of Jannina hope has filled their hearts. In the future, the Greek Province of Epirus will be free. Under the protection of the White-and-Blue they will return to Parga, Senitsa, Nivitsa, Corytsa.

"Twenty-five villages opposite Corfu have been sacked and burned down by the Albanian hordes.

"But now, a new life seems to animate the afflicted Epirotes—a new idea, the great idea of Hellenism. The Epirotes will now realize their dreams of centuries, their union with their Mother, Greece.

"To surrender to an artificial Albania a people which differs from the Albanians in language, in civilization, in religion and in aspirations, is a crime.

"All Epirus from Cape St. Basil to Cape St. John is absolutely Greek; the friends and relatives of these Epirotes constitute the intellectual and plutocratic aristocracy of Athens, and Patras."

May 2, Corfu, 1914

"It is not a question what Greece wants. It is a question what the Epirotes want. And should Greece be forced to refuse the Epirotes, they, none the less, are determined to secure their union with Greece.

"If Epirus was a 'no-man's-land,' that is a land without national sentiment, it would have been very easy for Italy and Austria to swallow it. But North Epirus, which Italy pretends that she wants to give to Albania,

is the hearth of Neo-Hellenism. The Epirotes are more Greek than the other Greeks.

"In Epirus there are six great centers of Hellenism, Jannina, the Zagoria (48 villages), Argyrocastro, Metsovo, Chimara, and Corytsa.

"From each one of these nests there have come out men whose first care after they have acquired wealth in foreign lands has been to spend their vast fortunes for the realization of that beautiful dream of Hellenism,—the liberation and the unification of all the enslaved parts of the Hellenic Fatherland, and especially the union of Epirus with Greece.

"Arsakis left his vast fortune for the education of Greek girls. With his wealth four Greek Colleges for women were endowed, one at Athens, one at Constantinople, one at Larissa, one at Jannina.

"At the Arsakeion of Athens over 2000 Greek girls receive a College education and this is due to an Epirote from Chotachova, near Argyrocastro, which the Albanians are trying to include in Albania.

"Zappas, the founder of many Greek schools in Greece and in Turkey, the founder of the Museum of Art at Athens, was from Lambovo, near Argyrocastro.

"Zographos, the founder of the Zographeon College, and the Zographeon Hospital at Constantinople, came from Kestonati, near Tepeleni. His son George Zographos has been Minister of Foreign Affairs of Greece, and became the President of the Autonomous State of Northern Epirus in 1914.

"Of the two wealthy Greeks George Averoff, and Stournaras of Metsovo, the former built the Stadium at Athens, gave to Greece the cruiser *Averoff* which defeated the Turkish fleet in 1912, and established schools in Epirus, in Greece, and in Egypt, while the latter founded and endowed the splendid Polytechnic Institute at Athens.

"The Zossimas established the first Greek College at Jannina long before the Independence of Greece, the

Caplanes, and the Tositsas of Jannina bestowed all their fortunes for educational and patriotic works.

"The millionaire Bancas of Corytsa gave all his wealth for Greek schools and hospitals both in Corytsa, and in Greece.

"Anagnostopoulos, of Zagori, a famous and much honored citizen of Boston, late Principal of the Perkins Institute for the Blind, left all his fortune for a Greek College for girls in Northern Epirus.

"The list of Epirote patriots who have made fabulous fortunes abroad and have bestowed them for the education, and the liberation of every unredeemed Greek land, would fill volumes.

"Their only thought was union with Greece, and fortunes are even today left in the National Bank of Greece with the express terms in the wills 'to be used only for the liberation of Epirus, and her union with Greece.' "

CHAPTER V

CULTURE

1. *The Culture of the Albanians*

THE will to co-operate is a prime requisite in the formation of a nation, but a "common culture" is also an important and necessary element.

It will be enlightening to consider first the culture of the Albanians, and then that of the Epirotes, and to observe the community or difference in culture of the two peoples.

Doctor E. J. Dillon wrote in the *Contemporary Review* of April, 1903:

"The wave of civilization has not even sprinkled with its foam the life of the people of the interior, whose besetting passion is a love of arms and booty. 'Fire, water and governments know no mercy,' is the common saying of the Albanians. So they have freed themselves even from the government of their own people.

"To the average Albanian the tribe is the state.

"In their love of blood-shed and horror of humdrum and laborious living they resemble the Kurds, and feel like them that they have a better right to exist and thrive than the inferior races who are on earth merely for their sakes.

"Neither the Mohammedans nor the Christians are chary of blood-shedding.

"It has been calculated that about 25 per cent. of the entire population die violent deaths.

"At times large tracts of land are given up to sanguinary vendettas. Not only do feuds to the death rage for generations between two tribes but also between two families of the same tribe, and hundreds of persons are sacrificed

at sight to propitiate the blood-thirsty shades of parents or forbears.

"That fierce lawless tribes should let themselves be tamed by a few gendarmes; should uncomplainingly give up customs more sacred to them than are the dictates of religion to Christians; should work hard for their livelihood, instead of robbing mere Giaours, and should treat the latter as equals and worthy of respect, is a set of propositions which no man can seriously entertain who has realized their meaning. The thing is simply inconceivable; it would indeed be easier far to force Englishmen to let themselves be governed by the Baboos of Bengal, than to get the Albanians to give up the customs of their ancestors and their wild love of freedom for the sake of races which, loathing, they cannot even hate."

Mr. Reginald Wyon wrote in *Blackwood's Magazine* of April, 1903:

"No amount of impassioned preaching can drive into these men's minds that it is wrong to take another's life.

"Sunday morning is an extraordinary spectacle amongst the Roman Catholic Clans. As the sun nears its zenith the clan has gathered together, rifles are piled in long rows against the church walls, and, revolver in girdle, bandolier round their waists, they enter the sacred edifice.

"It once happened, during my visit, that while a congregation was deep in devotions, shots were heard outside—rapid firing such as portended fighting. As one man the worshippers rose, and before the priest had concluded the prayer, they were streaming at a swift double quick towards the fray, shooting as they swung along, to signify that help was coming. Before the priest had divested himself of his robes, and followed his erring sheep, they were in the thick of the battle with a neighboring clan. A few hours later, the dead were laid out in the deserted church.

"A curious watchfulness pervades every man—a quick scan of every rock and bush on walking abroad, and ever-loaded weapons.

"An Albanian never parts with his rifle—even tilling the patch of ground before his home, he will have his rifle slung from his shoulder; if he is hoeing it is lying ready to hand in the next furrow. At church his rifle stands against the wall. The shepherd singing love songs to while away the long hours, has his rifle across his knees, and will lift it from time to time to aim at some object to keep his eye in practice.

"With a sublime indifference to law they go armed to their teeth.

"It is by no means a rare occurrence for the visitor to see a man shot in the street.

"A man's life in Albania is worth one penny, as an educated Albanian once told me,—that being roughly the price of a cartridge!

"The Albanian, while he is peacefully sleeping in his hut, may awake,—if he awakes at all—to find a board in the roof removed and a rifle or a revolver barrel pointing at him.

"Should a traveller be observed taking notes, taking photographs, or measurements, then his life would be endangered.

"He should remember never to be seen writing or sketching, and should always behave as a pious Roman Catholic in Northern Albania, and as a pious Mohammedan in Middle and Southern Albania and should be constantly attentive never to betray himself by the omission of any little ceremonial.

"I was present when an Albanian shot a Turkish soldier deliberately. He was caught and about to be tried. Within twenty-four hours the Turkish governor was honored by a visit from a deputation of the murderer's clan. These men demanded their comrade's release, and when they were promptly refused, on the ground that the prisoner must stand his trial for murder the deputation left with the warning that if he was not in their midst within forty-eight hours, the clan would descend and burn the

town. The Governor had but a handful of Turkish soldiers. Needless to say, the man was released well within the time limit.

"Professor Baldacci described them to me as 'Rough men, uncivilised in every respect, murderous, ruffians, barbarous savages.'

"After all they are great children who play with life as we play with games."

The *Spectator* of November 8, 1913, wrote:

"Albanian history has never instructed Europe in the terrors of trying to control mountainous and savage people like the Ghegs, whose normal life is fighting, and who would be surprised at being told that they were to die in their beds."

And in the issue of February 21, 1914:

"Even the palace of Durazzo, which is waiting to receive the new King, is said to be the home of rats and snakes."

In the *Open Court* of February, 1913, we read:

"The inhabitants of Albania do not possess the usual customs of civilized countries. Most of the people are robbers, and brigands, and murder is not considered a crime. The stranger has no right to protection unless he is received at the hearth, according to the usage of primitive savages. He is an outlaw if he is found on the road, and may be shot down from an ambush without rousing the authorities to investigate the case.

"Their supreme rule is not to recognize any authority above themselves. Every man takes the law in his own hands and deems it his privilege to rob and pillage wherever he can do so with impunity; every one is inseparable from his weapons, and no man ventures on a journey or even in the public high-road without his gun.

"They would not give up their arms; would object to paying taxes; would tolerate no censors; would brook no police; would not suffer their properties to be entered at recorders' offices; were even opposed to sending their chil-

dren to school or to submitting their quarrels to courts. The old system of taking the law into their own hands, of stealing the cattle of others, of slaying the wayfarer is considered part of the inalienable right of the country. It has been estimated that from 25 per cent. to 40 per cent. of the entire male population is exterminated by assassination, and no authority has so far succeeded in stopping this custom."

Mr. George Fred Williams writes in *Harper's Weekly* of April, 1915:

" 'Where the sword is, there is the faith,' is the belief of the Albanians. They are raised in superstition and suspicion."

Mr. Reginald Wyon again writes:

"More deaths occur annually from vendetta than from any other cause. The avenger is never wounded in the fulfilment of revenge. The avenger is not heroic; he waits for his victim, and only shoots when he knows he will kill, from behind a stone, beside the path the victim must traverse. The bullet comes at a few yards distance, usually from behind."

Mr. H. J. O'Kie wrote in the *Popular Science Monthly* of August, 1889:

"The Albanians are accustomed to train ganders for fighting, for which purpose they feed them with such herbs as contribute to the development of a pugnacious disposition. When one thinks his goose's courage has been sufficiently developed, he sends a herald through the village uttering a challenge to any townsman having a gander which he is ready to pit in a combat to bring him to the ring for a match.

"Such a challenge was sounded in the village of Lower Rogoza on the last day of August of last year. It was answered by a wealthy Albanian, who at once betook himself with his goose to the place where such spectacles were exhibited. His antagonist was already in waiting, with about one hundred onlookers.

"The match had gone on for about two hours, when one of the champions began to fail. His owner wanted to help him, but the proprietor of the conquering goose would not permit it. Irritated by this, the losing owner raised his gun and shot the other down on the spot."

As to education, Mr. Reginald Wyon writes:

"The country is unique in Europe; for while even little Montenegro has its schools, its law-courts, and its newspapers, Albania knows of none of these things. Their language consists of about six hundred words."

And Dr. E. J. Dillon:

" 'He who has often avenged is wiser than he who has been taught much,' is the opinion of the Albanian about education, which can hardly be said to exist in Albania."

We think that more quotations would add but little to the evidence of these eminent travellers and writers whom we have quoted.

It is simply shocking to think that a civilised, a cultured, a peaceful, and a progressive people like the Epirotes should have ever been even asked, not to say forced, to live and be governed by people who are wanting in the most elementary requisites of self-governing peoples.

Mr. Charles Dilke cleverly said of the diplomats of Europe:

"What is Europe anyway? A number of wicked old gentlemen with decorations assembled around a green table."

Signor San Giuliano, Herr Berchtold, and Sir Edward Grey belonged to the old school, which taught that "might is right," which did not care for the fate of small peoples, which bargained, bought and sold freely, remorselessly, the liberties, the lives, and the souls of unfortunate peoples which were fighting for the liberty and the civilization of Europe.

What cared San Giuliano if the brave Epirotes, as cultured as the countrymen of Cavour, with wives as dear, and daughters as well brought up as those of the citizens

of Rome, were to be exposed to the brutality of those unfortunate savages of Albania?

But why should we wonder at the callousness of the old European diplomats in the case of Epirus, when we know that all the Christian peoples of Turkey have groaned under the inhuman tyranny of the Moslems, and the great Powers have time and again discouraged and hindered the Christian slaves from overthrowing their oppressor?

2. *Culture of the Epirotes*

Let us, now, examine the cultural condition of the Epirotes.

We have already quoted authorities, who testify that the Epirotes are a highly cultured people, and that they not only have absorbed Greek Culture but also have so developed it as to make the culture of Epirus the most Hellenic of any.

Pouqueville in Book I, Chap. I, page 2, of his *Histoire de la Grèce,* writes:

"The Turks founded and maintained their empire upon violence, characterised by injustice to the vanquished, and drawing its force from unrighteousness and from terror. They could, therefore, only follow the course of epidemics, which grow weaker as they grow older. Thus was it with Nineveh, Suza, Ecbatana, and Babylon. But it could not be so with a people which, although enslaved, preserved its language and its customs.

"While yet under slavery, the Greeks in Epirus and throughout the Turkish Empire showed the traits of the Hellenes, and it was enough to encounter the indomitable mountaineers, in order to be convinced that some day the destinies of Greece would change.

"Jannina long ago established endowments for the support of the Greek teachers there. Chios has founded an academy. What voices of resurrection could be heard from *Epirus,* Thessaly, Macedonia and those sons of Tubal Cain who work the mines of Pangæon (Macedonia)?"

Ami Boué, who in the middle of the 19th century traversed Epirus and Macedonia, writes in *La Turquie d'Europe,* Vol. III, P. 447:

"The monasteries are most numerous in Epirus and Macedonia," and in Vol. III, p. 521:

"Instruction begins to receive more serious attention in Epirus where live the Greeks and the Vlachs.

"The best Greek educational establishments are at Jannina, Larissa, Salonica, and Serres."

Mr. C. S. Butler, the correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian,* wrote on September 30, 1914:

"In May of last year I was at Korytsa, and witnessed a parade of 2,125 Greek school children of both sexes, from five years up to sixteen, who beamed with joy and pride as they filed past the Crown Prince of Greece, waving their little Greek flags.

"Korytza has been the bone of contention between Epirotes and Albanians. This city has 25,000 inhabitants. It may readily be seen that the city is completely Greek, for 2,125 school children between the ages of five and sixteen would represent practically every family in the city.

"The written and commercial language of the Albanophone Epirotes is, and has always been Greek, even under Turkish rule. Even the most fanatical Albanians keep their accounts in Greek.

"At Argyrocastro, I was much surprised to see that the notables of Libochovo, a fanatical Moslem stronghold across the valley, sign their names habitually in Greek. All the extant letters, decrees, and orders of Ali Pasha, who certainly could not be accused of favoring the Greeks, are in Greek; which clearly proves two things: That Greek was the only written language used in Epirus in his day, and that it must have been generally understood and spoken by the people of Epirus.

"It is not the language, therefore, but the sentiment of a people which determines its national character. And N.

Epirus has for many generations expressed its national sentiment with no uncertain sound. To pass over the flourishing Greek institutions of learning of Jannina in the 17th and 18th centuries, which kept alive Greek letters and Greek aspirations in those dark days and *which were supported entirely* by the voluntary contributions of Epirotes, and to come down to the present age, Athens is full of splendid public buildings, gifts of Northern Epirotes. The magnificant Academy of Fine Arts and the Astronomical Observatory were given by Sinas of Moschopolis (near Korytsa). Bangas, of Korytsa, left a building worth £20,000 as a bequest to the Greek Navy Fund. The Zappa brothers, who endowed Athens with her exposition grounds and Constantinople with her biggest Greek High School for Girls, were natives of Lambovo, north of Argyrocastro. Zographos (the father of the President of the Chamber of Deputies), founder of a large Greek school at Constantinople, and founder of the Prize Fund for the encouragement of Greek studies at Paris, was a native of Duriani, near Argyrocastro. Averoff, the donor of the Greek battleship bearing his name and of the splendid Panathenaic Stadium, and Tositsa, and Stournara, who endowed Athens with its fine Polytechnic School, were natives of Metsovo. I pass over a long list of generous gifts and endowments by Epirotes to Greece for patriotic Greek aims."

Colonel Murray in a lecture given in Morley Hall in London, January 7, 1914, before an audience of Oxford professors and other scholars and statesmen, said:

"Education has opened the minds of the men and women. The school master is abroad in Epirus as elsewhere."

Mr. Z. D. Ferriman, author of *Home Life in Hellas* and *Turkey and the Turks,* wrote to the *Daily Chronicle* on April 7th, 1914:

"The Zographion is one of the many benefactions of Zographos to Hellenism. Not a few Greeks who have risen to distinction owe their studies in Europe to his gen-

erosity. I did not know that Zographos was an Epirote; but the fact explained to me why his son, a former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Greece, was heading now the revolution against the Albanians.

"The Metropolitan of Argyrocastro, Vassilios, was born at Labano, a mountain village north of Argyrocastro. He studied at the famous Theological College of the Isle of Halki, near Constantinople, was professor at the Gymnasium of Serres, later taught at Adrianople, then became successively Metropolitan of Paramythia, Avlona, and Argyrocastro, in N. Epirus.

"When Athens was in darkness, the appanage of a eunuch in the Seraglio at Stamboul, Jannina was a focus of Greek learning, and the travellers in the early 19th century tell us of scholars like Athanasius Psalida. Byron met one of his pupils at Athens, in 1801, and wrote of him that he was 'better educated than the fellow commoners of most colleges.' I had heard of Lucas Via, of John Valeras, and other natives of Jannina, who brought to it the culture of the West, of the schools of Psalida and the Zossimas, of Sakellarios and Coletti, and Metra, but Dr. Georgitsis told me of more, and among others of the famous school founded by the brothers Philanthropinos in 1650, which flourished for more than a century.

"This does not sound extraordinary as it is put down on paper, but if we try to realize the barbarous environment amid which these things were accomplished and the savage tyranny which essayed to thwart them, the achievement is little short of marvellous. It is a matter of wonder that Epirus has had to wait so long for her emancipation while other regions which deserved it less have long enjoyed it. But not all Epirus is free. Districts as Greek and as cultured as Jannina, Argyrocastro, Moschopolis. (Korytsa), where a printing-press was established nearly 200 years ago, are excluded, because a company of gentlemen seated round a green table in London have drawn a line on a map and decreed otherwise.

"I am writing this at the house of Dr. Georgitsis. His fourteen-year-old son, Sophocles, is seated opposite to me doing his lessons. He is at the Gymnasium, (the High School) which has existed for well nigh a century amid incredible difficulties. His school fellows of the senior class are not here. They have gone to join the Hierolochitae, the sacred band, to fight if need be for unredeemed Epirus. So has the doctor's nephew, who was residing lately at West Norwood. So has the best young blood of the country.

"I shall meet some of them, for I leave today in order to try and give some account of the land which has been handed over to a fictitious state created to satisfy the covetous aspirations of two European Powers."

We may add a few more remarks on the culture of Epirus.

Rizarhios Scholi at Athens is the Theological Seminary of Greece. It was founded by Rhizos of Epirus, and more than fifty per cent. of the professors and of the students are Epirotes.

Paul Melas, the famous Greek officer who went to Macedonia in 1902, and drove out the Bulgarian comitadjis, was an Epirote. To him Hellenism owes the rescue of Macedonia from the brutality of the Bulgars.

When Mr. Venizelos left Athens in 1916, and founded his Provisional Government at Salonica, in order to combat the Germanophile King Constantine and lead the Greek people to the assistance of the cause of the Allies, the two men who with him formed the famous triumvirate, which finally drove out Constantine, and defeated Bulgaria, were Epirotes, from Northern Epirus!

General Danglis, the Minister of War under the Provisional Government at Salonica, and the present Minister of War of Greece is from Argyrocastron.

The other prominent figure in the Triumvirate, Admiral Countoriotes, the present Admiral of Greece, and the vic-

tor of the Dardanelles in 1912, when he was the admiral of the Greek Fleet, comes from North Epirus.

The most classic poet of Modern Greece, Crystallis, comes from Epirus.

In brief, Epirus is for Modern Greece what Massachusetts or New England is for the United States. Epirus was the principal factor for the preservation of Greek culture, together with Constantinople for over 500 years.

Epirus, through Souli, and Parga, through Tjavellas, Bozzaris, Diakos, Catsantones, Tjovaras, Androutsos and Caraiscakis, initiated and carried to a successful end the Greek Revolution of 1821–1829.

Epirus has contributed more than any other Greek Province to the regeneration of Modern Greece with moneys, schools, and other princely gifts; and the Greek race looks upon Epirus, as the Americans look upon New England, with pride and affection.

But the culture of the Epirotes is not only academic, for in the art of self-government the Epirotes have achieved success which makes the chasm between them and the lawless tribes of the Albanians even greater.

The historian Dumont in his excellent work *La Turquie d'Europe,* published in 1875, writes about the culture of Epirus:

"To judge the Turks one should see the provinces; lodge in their houses; live their lives as an unknown among them. In the same way to become acquainted with the Greeks, the Bulgarians or the Armenians one should not be content with visiting only the capitals of these nations. One must go to the country. I have travelled throughout the country of the Epirotes.

"In the districts the most remote and mountainous, the newspapers of Jannina or Athens arrive daily.

"The Epirotes, like the rest of the Greeks, are excellent in the practice of their communal liberties. They have all the qualities requisite for the art of municipal government.

"Political life is very active and eloquence is much prized.

" 'In Epirus, as throughout Turkey, a Greek village without a teacher,' says a proverb, 'is as rare as a valley without the corresponding hills.'

"In villages where I could not count more than one hundred houses, the teachers showed me their libraries. I could see there the classical collections of Tauchnitz.

"Instruction is not compulsory, but none would consent to deprive his children of an education.

"The expense of instruction is borne by the parents in each village.

"Each village has its own treasury, and the moneys in them come from (a) bequests, (b) contributions by the Orthodox churches, (c) gifts of wealthy Epirotes abroad.

"The budget is arranged according to the calculated expenses for the year.

"In proportion to the resources of the community, churches are decorated, or new ones are erected; a hospital is endowed; or a first-class teacher is imported from Athens; a young man is sent to the University of Athens, or for studies abroad; a road long neglected by the Ottoman Government is repaired.

"It is a most rare case when two Greek parties appear before a Turkish Tribunal to adjust differences. Nothing does so much honor to the Greeks as the good sense with which, without a written law, without constitution, they know how to regulate their municipal affairs

"The broadest democracy is the law of these communities. Educational equality is almost perfect. Large fortunes do not create great differences among them.

"The poor are rare among them. Even the laborer who lives on his wages is never subjected to those hardships so frequent in our Western life. The vivacity of their spirit never changes. At the agora, at the church, at the theatre, the merchant, the worker, and the rich landowner, are always equals.

"No people erect so many churches and chapels as the Epirotes. It was so with their ancient ancestors before Christianity. Hence this great number of edifices in honor of their heroes, or of the saints.

"Pausanias, in his description of Greece proper, cites at every step monuments and altars. And I am sure there were many more which he has left out.

"The Epirotes' taste for chapels is inherited from the Ancient Greeks.

"Everywhere the warmest reception is given to strangers.

"Activity is very great, and fortunes are not rare. A Westerner will find a comfortable home; the rooms vast, well ventilated, opening almost always to the east, are elegant, and simple.

"The people emigrate to foreign lands but never forget to return to their homes. Never is a Greek afraid of a voyage. Motion delights him; and novelty enchants him. And he needs so little to make himself happy anyway. And making a living for a Greek is not a matter which worries him much. He is so ingenious. An Epirote who has only seen his own town or village is very rare.

"If you are a stranger, in the evening they give you the best entertainment they can, and speak to you of Hellas, of the tyranny of the Turks and the Albanians, of the 'Megale Idea' or Great National Ideal, the union of all the Hellenes with Greece.

"Thus one passes his days among these interesting people. Indeed, in order to be able to understand the Ancient Greeks, one should go and live among the descendants of Pericles and Thucydides.

"For one cannot long live among them without recognizing ancient traditions. Their language differs very little from the ancient Greek. The Romaic or Neo-Hellenic language is but a dialect, an idiom which was spoken but was not written, by the Ancient Greeks. Here one sees customs in daily life as old as Homer."

We have dealt with the cultural status of each of the two peoples—the Albanians and the Epirotes—because after all it is culture which is an unsurmountable barrier between the two peoples.

The Epirote is peaceful, industrious, educated. The Albanian war-like, savage, untutored, idle, poor, and ungovernable.

The persistence of the Epirotes in preserving their character is one of the things which strikes a Westerner when he visits the near East. Like the Jews, the Greeks are immortal. Neither the Turks, nor the Slavs, nor the Albanians, nor the Normans, nor the Francs, have been able to alter their national characteristics. Many towns and villages have been overthrown and burnt down. But each day they spring up anew from their ruins.

It is a crime to force a people like the Alsatians to live under the rule of the nomads of Arabia, or of the savage tribes of Transcaucasia.

And yet, this was the crime perpetrated by the Great Powers in 1913, when they decreed that more than one half of Greek Epirus should be driven by force of arms to live in the anarchy of Pan-Albanian brigandage.

Having thus seen that the will of the Epirotes of Northern Epirus to work together is definite and clean-cut and that it is outspokenly for union with Greece; having also seen that the cultural ties of the Epirotes and of the Greeks are too strong to be shattered by the unjust "decisions of politicians sitting round green tables," we pass to other considerations of secondary importance.

Are there any Albanians in Northern Epirus, and what are the numerical proportions of the Greeks and Albanians?

And before we enter the discussion of numbers it is necessary to give our attention to a brief study of the geography, and the boundaries of the land of Northern Epirus.

CHAPTER VI

GEOGRAPHY OF EPIRUS

HAVING thus explained the Epirotic problem, it is now necessary to give the reader a general idea of the Province of Epirus and to point out what parts of it are coveted by the Albanians, and refused to them by the Epirotes themselves.

The Province of Epirus includes what was known under the Ottoman Empire as the Vilayet of Jannina and the Sanjak of Korytsa. More specifically, Epirus begins to the north at the Acroceraunian Mountains on the Adriatic coast slightly south of Valona, and eastward to the Lake of Ochrida. To the east Epirus is bounded by Macedonia, to the west by the Adriatic Sea, and to the south by the Gulf of Preveza and the Greek frontiers of 1912.

The total area of the Province is about 5000 geographical miles. The population is nearly 500,000.

The frontier proposed by the Epirotes would leave to them the Vilayet of Jannina, with the Sanjaks of Jannina, Preveza, Goumenitza, in full; the larger part of the Sanjak of Argyrocastro, and in the Sanjak of Korytsa, the Kazas of Korytsa, and Colonia in full and half of the Kaza of Stazovo.

These boundaries are far to the south of the original boundaries of Epirus in earlier days. But owing to the Islamisation of the inhabitants north of the Acroceraunian Mountains, the Epirotes consider the Moslems completely irreconcilable to the Christians and therefore have no desire to include in Epirus any lands north of these mountains.

That Epirus extends at least to the Acroceraunian Mountains is not a vain invention of the Epirotes.

At the beginning of our treatise we have quoted Ancient writers of Greece and Rome, and have seen that in the days

of Athens and Rome Epirus extended as far north as Durazzo.

Philip Sea published a map in 1690–1701, "A New Map of The World," in which he puts the boundaries of Epirus above Valona, and includes Epirus in Greece.

F. de Wit in 1680 published a map, "Turcicum Imperium," according to which Epirus begins at Durazzo, and forms a part of Greece.

Dancherus, in 1650, published his map, "Turcius Imperius," in which Epirus begins north of Valona, and is part of Greece.

B. Randolph, in 1650, published his map, "Graecia," in which Epirus, a province of Greece, begins to the north of Valona.

G. Blau, in 1650, in his map, "Imperium Turcicum," describes Epirus as a Province of Greece, beginning to the north of Valona.

Saurembergios' Map, "Macedonia Alexandri M.," defines Epirus as a province of Greece which begins to the north of Valona.

Pouqueville in 1804 produced his famous *Histoire de La Grèce,* in which he gives a very illuminating table of the districts included in Epirus in ancient times as well as in 1804, under Turkish domination.

We reproduce the table:

Modern Sanjaks	Ancient Provinces	Modern Cantons	Villages
	I		
	Hellopia	Jannina	54
	Mollosia	Pogonion	40
	Thympeida	Sarochovitsa	18
	II	Courendas	24
	Perrhebia		
	III	Zagori	44
	Atintania		
Jannina	IV	Conitsa	36
	Dolopia	Sesanathes	18
	V	Anovlachia	37
	Athamania	Doumerca and	
	VI	Part of Radovitch	65
	Paravia or Paroria	Tetmez	15

Modern Sanjaks	Ancient Provinces	Modern Cantons	Villages
	VII	Drynopolis	43
Delvino	Dryopia	Himara	85
	Chaonia	Arboria	136
		Parachaloma	130
		Philates	
			609
	IX		
Chamouri	Thesprotia	Paramythia and Palio-Kistes	54
	Cestrine		
	X		
	Aidonia or Celtica	Aidonia	72
	XI		
	Sella	Souli	4
	XII		
Arta	Cassiopia	Spianza and Lamari	25
	XIII		
	Ambracia	Rogous	42
	XIV		
	Amphilochia	Arta	85
Total number of villages of Epirus			841

Pouqueville states that Epirus is a province of Greece, and begins north of Valona.

We are indebted to Pouqueville for information on the ecclesiastical division of Epirus.

It is well known that the Greek Church, like the Roman Catholic Church, in its ecclesiastical government, followed the imperial division into districts, episcopates and so on.

We give herewith Pouqueville's table of the ecclesiastical division of Epirus:

Province			
1. Nicopolis	V	century	Metropolitan seat
2. Phoenice (Delvino)	V	"	Archbishopric
3. Rogous	IX	"	Bishopric
4. Vonitza (Vonitsa)	IX	"	"
5. Actis (Arta)	IX	"	"
6. Dodona	VI	"	"
7. Cassiopia (Jannina)	IX	"	"
8. Buthrotum	V	"	"
9. Drynopolis	V	"	"
10. Photice or Velas	V	"	"
12. Aidonia	V	"	"
13. Anchiasmus (St. Quaranta)	V	"	"

Kiepert, the most exact and scientific geographer of modern times, sets the boundaries of Epirus to the north of Valona, and includes Epirus in the lands called Greek.

Epirus has five great centres of culture and commerce: Jannina, Konitza, Santi Quaranta, Argyrocastron, and Korytsa.

The first two cities are in Southern Epirus, the last three in Northern Epirus.

Although Korytsa and Konitza have each a college for boys and schools for girls, the collegiate studies of all the Epirotes are done by preference at the College Zossimaea at Jannina.

Commercially, Jannina is the centre. The highways connecting Jannina, Santi Quaranta, Argyrocastron, Korytsa, are the only outlets of Epirus both to the Adriatic Sea, and to Monastir, and Salonica.

High mountains completely isolate Korytsa and Argyrocastron from Valona and the rest of Albania. There are no trade routes from Epirus to Albania.

Northern Epirus has always looked upon Jannina as its educational and commercial metropolis.

The Ottoman Empire found it politically practicable to govern the whole province through the Vali of Jannina.

The Greek Patriarchate, following the ancient line of the political boundaries of Epirus, had all the churches of Epirus under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Bishop of Jannina.

CHAPTER VII

POPULATION OF EPIRUS

The total population of Epirus is nearly 500,000.

The statistical table on p. 77 gives the numbers of the various races inhabiting Epirus.

In connection with the table it is well to remark that the total Greek-speaking population is greater than the total Mussulman population, or 193,925 and 116,815, respectively.

The tables are compilations from the Turkish census of 1908. The Turkish government considered all the Mussulmans as Turks. In reality, however, with the exception of 50,000 Turks, all the Mussulman population may be considered as Albanians.

All the Greek-speaking, as well as the Albanophone, and Vlachophone Christian population was classed by the Turkish government under "Greeks."

Taking away from the total Mussulman population the 50,000 Turks, who far from being Albanians entertain a deep-rooted hatred for the Albanians, as we shall show, we notice that the Greek-speaking population of Epirus alone is in the majority over any one element, and by far more numerous than the Moslem Albanians, or 193,925 Greeks against 116,815.

The next important point to be considered is the nationality of the Vlachs.

There are almost 16,623 Vlachs in Epirus. From time immemorial they are attached to the cause of Hellenism. They speak a broken jargon known as "Koutzo-Vlach" but they speak Greek better and read and write only Greek. The schools and the churches of the Vlachs are Greek.

Rumania made a desperate effort, and has spent millions of francs in an attempt to persuade the Vlachs that they were not Greeks but Rumanians.

The result of 25 years of effort on the part of Rumania has proven the futility of all attempts to detach the Epirotes from their allegiance to Hellenism. The table of schools (p. 78) shows that in a population of 16,623 Vlachs, in 25 years the Rumanians have succeeded in showing only 103 pupils.

Stournara and Averoff, two of the most eminent benefactors of Greece, were Vlachs.

The most ardent lovers of the Hellenic ideals are the Vlachs.

The writer of this booklet is of Vlach parentage, and can testify to the ardor of this race for Greek culture, and Greek nationality.

So far as we know, the only writer who has expressed himself in favor of the Vlachs joining the Albanians, is Mr. Brailsford. But Mr. Brailsford stands alone on this point. His attitude is due to the fact that he has never visited Epirus, and has never seen the Vlachs there. All the writers who have been in this province and have known the Vlachs are of unanimous accord that the Vlachs are perfect Greeks in every respect.

Finally, there are 91,386 Greeks who speak Albanian in their families, but who also speak Greek and read and write only Greek.

The Albanians clamor that these people who use a broken Albanian dialect in their homes are Albanian.

The Albanophones are Greeks in sentiment; they desire union with Greece; they despise and hate the Albanians, and in 1914 were the first to rise against the Albanian state, demanding union with Greece.

Looking at the statistical table of population, and casting an eye on the map we shall notice that the larger number of Albanophones are in Korytsa, Margariti, Argyrocastron, Tepeleni and Premeti.

These districts represent the richest districts of Epirus.

The Albanians, invited by Ali Pasha in 1803, settled in the choice districts of Northern Epirus. The educated Epirotes of these occupied districts fled the country for fear of the wild Albanian Beys. The peasants became slaves, and were bound to the soil.

These Greek slaves were forced by the necessity of propitiating the savagery of their feudal lords to hide as much as possible their Greek sentiments. They adopted the dress and the language of their oppressors; but they clung to the Christian Orthodox Church, the liturgy of which was in Greek. These peasants in less than a century have lost their original language, just as in less than 40 years German pressure has altered the linguistic character of Alsace-Lorraine; but the traditions, the aspirations, and the ideals of these unfortunate Epirotes remained unchanged, thoroughly Greek.

The Greeks of the interior of Asia Minor speak only Turkish. But none will deny that they are as good Greeks as those born in Athens.

The Spanish American republics speak Spanish, but they are not parts of Spain. In deciding upon the nationality of the Albanophones we should not take as a criterion the language, which today may be Albanian and tomorrow Greek. We should apply the measure described by Lord Cromer, Mr. Toynbee, and Mr. Clemenceau—the will of the Albanophones themselves.

And the will of the Albanophones was unmistakably made evident by their successful revolt against Albania in 1914.

That the Albanophones are Greeks in sentiment and that they demand union with Greece we shall see later, from the testimonies of eminent writers who have been eyewitnesses during the struggle of 1914 in N. Epirus.

Upon analysis of the proportions as given in the table, it is seen that in the most important districts the majority of the Greek element is indisputable.

That the Albanian dialect spoken by the Epirotes in certain districts of Northern Epirus does not prove that those Epirotes are Albanians historically is clearly demonstrated by authors who have made special studies on Epirus.

Dr. Dillon writes in the *Contemporary Review* of April, 1903:

"For the past ten years or more the Albanians have been slowly extending their territory, and without serious opposition. Their Christian neighbors who occupied the land were either killed off or driven away in large numbers.

"Thus 'the chivalrous brigands' have succeeded in becoming predominant even where they are in the minority, seeing that they carry weapons openly and know how to use them, while the Christians are by law unarmed.

"Many tribes live almost exclusively by the proceeds of organized depredations on the Christians who try to live and work in their neighborhood."

The numerous quotations we have already cited from General Perrhaebus, the works of Pouqueville, Hobhouse, and Leake are full of instances of forced Albanification.

The following story, narrated to the author of this booklet by H. Bolo, a citizen of Boston, and a distinguished leader in the Epirotic Revolution of 1914, is perhaps the most potent evidence of the soundness of the contention that that portion of Northern Epirus which speaks Albanian, besides Greek, was forced to alter its national language, in order to propitiate the furious savagery of the Albanian invaders.

Mr. Bolo told the author one day in his youth he was sent by his parents to carry sheep from Argyrocastron to Jannina. "It was very necessary," he said, "that I learn Albanian, because, if I did not know Albanian, the Albanians would have recognized me as a Christian and as a Greek, and would have stolen my sheep, and even killed

me and my attendants. But I had to do even more than that. I had to wear the head-gear of the Albanians."

There are over 30,000 Epirotes in America. Most of them are simple, and untutored laborers. Everyone of them, I am sure, will tell a similar tale to that of Mr. Bolo.

TABLE OF POPULATION OF EPIRUS

The statistical table that follows is taken from the famous work of Amadori Virgili, published in 1908.

DISTRICT	GREEKS			Total Greeks	Mussulmans	Total Population
	Greco-phones	Albano-phones	Vlacho-phones			
Jannina	72,674	1,400	10,800	64,874	5,032	89,900
Metsovo	5,862	.....	.....	5,882	.....	5,682
Liescovikion	6,100	2,624	.....	8,724	4,584	13,308
Preveza	12,542	.....	.....	12,542	1,854	14,326
Louros	20,162	1,100	.....	21,283	882	22,144
Margariti	1,400	8,812	.....	10,212	18,426	68,638
Philiates	17,340	250	100	17,690	11,276	28,966
Paramythia	9,936	2,600	.....	12,536	4,704	17,260
Argyrocastron ...	13,178	7,916	.....	21,094	21,032	42,126
Delvinon	12,231	4,155	.....	16,386	5,450	21,836
Cheimarra	3,865	3,383	.....	7,848	4,750	11,998
Tepelen	.....	5,846	.....	5,846	15,866	91,412
Premeti	.....	9,500	2,128	11,628	18,630	30,158
Pogonion	18,615	.....	2,381	20,986	810	81,806
Total	193,925	47,586	15,409	256,920	112,896	369,816
Corytsa	.....	43,800	1,214	45,014	53,919	98,933
Total	193,925	91,386	16,693	301,934	166,815	468,749

CHAPTER VIII

SCHOOLS

WE now come to the schools of Epirus:

TABLE OF STATISTICS OF SCHOOLS IN EPIRUS:

Names of Sanjaks / Names of Kazas	Number of Teachers			Number of Pupils			Number of Schools		
	Greek	Roumanian	Italian	Greek	Roumanian	Italian	Greek	Roumanian	Italian
JANNINA:									
City of Jannina.. (8)	(1)	..	(80)	(2)	..	(1,467)	(35)	..	
Jannina (incl. City of Jannina)...258	2	..	334	8	..	9,417	63	..	
Metsovo 8	..	..	20	1	..	482	..	..	
Konitza 31	..	..	36	3	..	1,089	22	..	
Leskoviko 34	..	..	36	..	..	1,118	..	..	
Filiatai 34	..	..	33	..	..	1,302	..	..	
Paramythia 32	..	..	..	..	..	732	..	..	
Total in the Sanjaks 397	2	..	459	12	..	14,140	85	..	
ARGYROCASTRO:									
Argyrocastro 50	..	..	59	..	..	1,916	..	..	
Delvino 24	..	..	33	..	..	1,063	..	..	
Premeti 35	1	..	39	1	..	1,118	18	..	
Tepelen 18	..	..	22	..	..	589	..	..	
Himara 8	..	..	14	..	..	507	..	..	
Pogoni 42	..	..	57	..	..	2,061	..	..	
Total in the Sanjaks 177	1	..	224	1	..	7,254	18	..	
PREVEZA:									
Preveza 32	..	..	40	..	..	1,254	..	..	
Louves 36	..	..	36	..	..	1,180	..	..	
Margariti 30	..	..	31	..	..	681	..	..	
Total 98	..	..	107	..	..	3,115	..	..	
BERAT:									
Berat 18	..	..	28	..	..	769	..	..	
Scraperi 1	..	..	21	..	..	24	..	..	
Lousina 25	..	..	29	..	..	623	..	..	
Valona 10	..	2	16	..	5	435	..	40	
Total 54	..	2	74	..	5	1,851	..	40	
Total in the Vilayet..726	3	2	864	13	5	26,360	103	40	

School and church maps and statistics by Amadori Virgili, 1908.

Taking the table and analyzing it very briefly we are induced to notice that:

1. The Greek schools are evenly distributed throughout the entire Province.

2. There are no Albanian schools at all.

3. The Province presents a very high school attendance. In a Greek population of 301,934, nearly 27,000 children of both sexes attend Greek schools, that is, nearly 10 per cent. of the entire Greek population of Epirus.

The schools are, in our opinion, a very convincing expression of the will of the Epirotes to stay Greeks. Will an American send his child of from 5 to 16 years of age to a Mexican school when he can easily send him to an American? Does not the enormous number of schools, teachers, and pupils, show beyond any doubt that the parents, who prefer to send their children to a Greek school to learn the Greek language first before they learn any other language, to learn Greek History first, to express their thoughts in Greek, to say their prayers in Greek, to write to their parents in Greek, to learn their arithmetic and their plays in Greek, that those parents are Greeks and intend that their children shall be Greeks also?

But the Albanophiles object to our school evidence. They claim that the Epirotes established Greek schools for three reasons:

1. They were not allowed by the Turkish Government to have Albanian schools.

2. The Greek language attracted them by its culture.

3. The Greek language is a commercial language in the Near East.

That the Turkish Government discouraged Albanian learning is true. But it is no less true that the same Government discouraged and hindered Greek, Bulgar, Serb, and Rumanian learning. Nevertheless, the Greeks, the Bulgars, the Serbs, and the Rumanians imposed their will upon the Turks and forced the latter to allow the teaching of their respective languages. Had the Albanians been

animated by a nationalist spirit, they could easily have forced the Turks to permit the teaching of the Albanian language. We know the fierceness of the Albanians too well to believe that they would have brooked Turkish interference in Albanian affairs. If the Turks failed for 500 years to penetrate Albania, and impose taxes, and conscript the Albanians, how naïve it is to contend that the Albanians were deprived of culture because of Turkish interference? The truth is that the Albanians hate education; and that the Epirotes have never shared with the Albanians any common aims or common ideals.

To the contention that the Epirotes were attracted by Greek culture we will reply that the Epirotes in the last 30 years have been solicitously offered other cultures—the Italian and the Austrian—and yet the Epirotes have refused both of these cultures with resentment.

Italy and Austria have opened schools throughout Epirus with the intention of teaching the Albanian language together with Italian, the German and French languages. The Italians were so anxious that the Epirotes should cease to attend the Greek schools and learn Albanian and Italian that the Italian Government not only subsidized Italian and Albanian schools and teachers, but also offered to pay every Epirote's child that attended their schools. Yet, the Epirotes have not patronized these foreign schools because they saw in them institutions which aimed at the denationalization of Epirus.

The third contention that this language is a commercial language cannot stand. The Greek language is not as necessary in the commercial transactions of the orient as the German, the French, the English and the Italian languages.

The Austrian and Italian teachers promised the young Epirotes a much brighter career than that offered by a Greek education. The Italians offered the Epirotes not only a successful career in Italy or other countries of Europe, but also protection from the cruelty of the Turks.

Every inducement was offered to draw the Epirotes from the Greek schools. The results of the prodigious efforts of the Austrians and Italians are seen in this paper.

The Epirotes were not constrained to learn Greek. The case of Alsace-Lorraine and the forced attendance of the French children in the German schools cannot be adduced as a parallel to the attendance of the Epirote children in the Greek schools. The schools of the Epirotes are their own, built, managed and endowed by themselves, without Greek interference and without any assistance from Greece. In fact the Epirotes not only have not received assistance and inspiration from Greece, but are even responsible for most of the educational institutions of Greece herself.

To form a slight idea of the vast cultural efforts of the Epirotes—efforts altogether spontaneous and unsubsidized —it is well to mention here that in a population of 300,000 Greeks in Epirus, there are 2,000 churches. Serbia with a population of 5,000,000, has not more than 2,000 churches.

These contentions may be also met by the following considerations:

(1) Albania is as old as Greece. If the Albanians had ever had a national consciousness, that national consciousness would have found expression in national culture, popular songs and literature.

The Greeks had been under Turkey for nearly five hundred years; so have the Rumanians, the Serbs and the Bulgars. During the period of their servitude these four nationalities gave evidence of national consciousness through their poets, their writers, their popular songs and their histories. Only Albania has remained to our day without a pan-Albanian language, without national popular songs, without poets and without a single work of literature.

(2) If the Northern Epirotes had had an Albanian national consciousness, they would have done what the Bulgars and the Rumanians did, at the beginning of the 19th century. They would have driven away the Greek priest

and the Greek teacher, and would have either established Albanian schools, or would have chosen the culture of another Christian nation, such as England, France, Italy or Austria.

(3) The Turks brought to bear the same, or even more violent oppression upon Greek culture than they did upon the Albanian schools. It was only the force of the national consciousness of the Greeks, the Bulgars, the Serbs, and Rumanians which imposed upon the Turks the recognition of the rights of these subject nationalities to develop their national cultures under the Ottoman dominion. Had the Northern Epirotes been animated by an Albanian national feeling they would have succeeded as well as the Greeks in making Turkey recognize their right to have schools and churches for the education of their children in Albania.

(4) In the last twenty years a unique opportunity was presented to the Northern Epirotes to emancipate themselves from the "hated" Greek schools and churches, and to develop their own Albanian culture.

Austria and Italy were vying for the occupation of the eastern shores of the Adriatic. In order that some day these nations might have a justifiable claim on Albania, they initiated a feverish work of Austrianization and Italianization of Albania and Epirus.

Austria sent numberless Catholic priests to Northern Albania, who established churches and catechised the northern Albanians in the interest of allegiance to Austria. Italy did the same thing in Southern Albania, and in Epirus. Italy, however, attempted to create a pro-Italian sentiment through schools. In all the important centres of Southern Albania and Epirus Italian schools began to spring up.

The Italian schools were better equipped than the local Greek schools. They offered advantages to the Epirotes which could not be obtained from the Greek schools.

If the Epirotes would attend Italian rather than Greek schools they were offered the following advantages:

(a) Protection against oppression by Turks and by Albanians.

(b) Free education.

(c) Financial assistance to the parents of those Epirotes who sent their children to Italian schools.

(d) Instruction in Italian and in Albanian.

(e) Guarantee that the graduates from the Italian schools would be sent to Italian firms for profitable positions.

(5) The Italian language is certainly better understood and more used in the commercial circles of the Near East than the Greek.

It is evident that the Northern Epirotes had many opportunities to learn Albanian, and to develop an Albanian culture in the Italian and Austrian schools, with very great advantages besides, but they preferred the schools of their own race.

CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM

We have mentioned that one of the arguments brought forward by the advocates of "Greater Albania" is the economic advantage to Albania of the annexation of Northern Epirus.

It is maintained that Albania without Northern Epirus is economically a bankrupt state.

We could answer that no matter how much Albania needs Northern Epirus economically, if the Northern Epirotes object to their union with Albania, no justice can be done to the Epirotes by condemning them to die nationally and economically in order to save the future Albanian State.

But leaving the will of the Epirotes out of the question, it is well to consider first whether Northern Epirus constitutes in reality a question of economic life or death for Albania; and secondly, whether that part of Epirus which is left to Greece can subsist economically with Northern Epirus in the hands of a foreign state.

We have already touched upon the economic unity of Northern and Southern Epirus in our chapter on the geography of Epirus. We have shown that nature has separated Northern Epirus from Albania by rugged mountains; that there are no roads connecting Valona with Northern Epirus; that from time immemorial the cities of Korytsa, Argyrocastron, Delvino, Santi Quaranta had Jannina as their commercial, industrial and intellectual centre.

Albania in antiquity extended northward from Valona.

The Albanian race, more numerous once than today, has been able to subsist within the limits described by the Arcoceraunian Mountains and the Black Mountains in Montenegro. Under the Turkish Empire the Albanians have been able to live within their mountainous barriers without industries, without commerce. During the five hundred years of their subjugation to Turkey, Northern Epirus has never been commercially connected with Albania. No merchants from Northern Epirus buy from or sell to the Albanians to the north of Valona. All the commercial relations of Albania with other lands were established through Valona, Durazzo, or San Juan Di Medua.

Now, the argument that Albania cannot live economically without Northern Epirus is unintelligible, in view of the fact that by the union of Northern Epirus with Greece no old established commercial or industrial or intellectual relations are suddenly broken off.

On the other hand, the inclusion of Northern Epirus in the future Albanian State will carry with it the economic death of the entire Province of Epirus, for one unit, one economic integer is thus broken up into two. Jannina, the economic heart of the whole province of Epirus, is cut off from three important arteries, Korytsa, Argyrocastron, Santi Quaranta, and is thus doomed to a complete and sudden extinction as a first class city. Korytsa, a flourishing city, is connected with Argyrocastron–Jannina–Santi Quaranta on the one hand, and with Monastir–Salonica on the other. If Northern Epirus is included in Albania, Korytsa will be completely isolated from her two main markets, Jannina and Monastir-Salonica.

Korytsa will be forced to carry on a meagre trade with Valona over most difficult mountains, and be cut off from Monastir (a Serbian city) and from Salonica, a Greek city, as well as from Jannina (a Greek city).

Business relations established from time immemorial between Jannina and Korytsa-Monastir-Salonica will suddenly be broken off. Natural markets will be abandoned,

and new markets sought over mountains nowhere less than 1000 feet high.

The division of Epirus into a Northern and a Southern Epirus, the one under Albania, the other under Greece, will render both parts of the country completely valueless for many years to come, until Albania becomes civilized enough and strong enough financially to build railways, make tunnels, and establish commercial communications between Korytsa and Valona, and until Greece opens new roads, and new commercial connections between Jannina and other Greek provinces.

But what the Albanians regard as the panacea for the economic weakness of the Albanian State of tomorrow will not only fail to be such but will mean the economic death of both Northern and Southern Epirus as well as the decadence of Monastir, the capital of Serbian Macedonia.

Moreover, the Albanians cannot claim that Northern Epirus is so rich in mines or other natural wealth that it will be the source of wealth very sorely needed by the new State of Albania.

So far we have viewed the economic aspect of the inclusion of Northern Epirus in Albania only from an Albanian standpoint.

If the Albanians are entitled to the liberty of demanding a Greek province on the ground that Albania needs it for economic reasons, why are not the Epirotes themselves, and the Greek people as a whole, entitled to the same liberty of demanding that Northern Epirus remain united to the rest of Epirus, and joined to Greece for economic, as well as for ethnic reasons?

If Northern Epirus is needed by Albania, because Northern Epirus is rich, is not the same province needed by Greece for the same reasons? Is Greece so populous, so rich, so powerful that it can afford to slice off portions of her national possessions and offer them to her neighbors who tomorrow will turn against her and demand more?

CHAPTER X

STRATEGIC ASPECTS

But aside from the economic ruin that will visit Epirus through being thus cut in halves, we must consider the question under its strategical aspects.

The boundaries as delineated by the Powers in 1913, consist of a mere line hastily drawn by Sir Edward Grey on the Epirotic map.

Those memorable days of 1913 were the old days. They were the days of the old diplomacy. They were days when the rights of small nations were not troubling the consciences of the diplomats of the great Christian States of Europe.

Italy and Austria clamored for a great Albanian state. A war with the Triple Alliance had to be avoided. What matter if 200,000 Epirotes were surrendered to a savage people? What did it concern the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain if the line which he scratched on the map of Epirus left Greece exposed on the north to the mercy of an enemy with much superior forces to her own? On this subject, however, we simply touch at this point. In the succeeding pages we shall quote from a scholarly lecture of Colonel Murray of England, who as a soldier is very competent to tell us of the strategic disadvantages which will fall to the lot of Greece if Northern Epirus is separated from her.

We are content here to mention that Albania and Epirus are separated by most excellent natural barriers, the Acroceraunian Mountains, which have been, and should be, the boundaries between Greece and Albania.

CHAPTER XI

ITALIAN AMBITIONS

"Very soon," wrote Mr. René Puaux, the correspondent of the Paris *Temps,* from Epirus in 1914, "the fate of Epirus will be decided. The Great Powers, yielding to the pressure from Italy, will surrender to the supposititious Albanian State lands inhabited by patriotic Greeks, delivering them to the tyranny of the Albanian Beys. Italy has written brilliant pages in world history, but now, she is writing a few detestable ones, all the more detestable as she abjures all those principles which permitted her to become a free nation, in order to realize her imperialistic dreams.

"In seeking to create an Albanian state, as large as possible, in the hope of dividing it up with Austria later, she thinks that Austria will allow her to occupy Valona. I do not pretend to be a prophet, but I am certain that sooner or later Serbia and Montenegro will be united, and will demand an outlet on the Adriatic through Albania, when Greece will again occupy the lands which are now wrested from her. Italy will have won nothing from her obstinacy and injustice, except the alienation of the sympathies of the Greek people. Mr. Di San Giuliano, in building castles in the air, and in applying a policy of malicious injustice will serve his country very poorly.

"If Epirus is detached from Greece, Europe will have created another Alsace-Lorraine. Greece can never find rest until the entire Province of most Hellenic Epirus becomes a part of the Greek State."

Mr. Arnold Toynbee in his *Greek Policies Since 1882,* page 28, writes:

"The Greek troops arrived just in time, for the Hellenism of the Epirotes has been very terribly proved by murderous attacks from their Moslem neighbors on the north. These last, owing to their Moslem faith, have always been with the Turks, the ruling class. They are superior to the Christians by the possession of arms, which under the Ottoman régime, were the monopoly of the Moslem. Now, however, the oppression seems to be overpast, and the Greek occupation to be a harbinger of security for the future."

Unluckily, Epirus was of interest to others besides its own inhabitants; it occupies an important geographical position facing the extreme heel of Italy just below the narrowest point in the neck of the Adriatic, and the Italian Government insisted that the country should be included in the new Autonomous Albanian Principality, which the Powers had reserved the right to delimit by a provision in the Treaty of London. Italy gave two reasons for her demand.

First, she declared it incompatible with her own vital interests that both shores of the strait between Corfu and the mainland should pass into the hands of the same power, because the combination of both coasts and the channel between them offered a site for a naval base that could dominate the mouth of the Adriatic.

Secondly, she maintained that the native Albanian speech of the Epirotes proved their Albanian nationality, and that it was unjust to the new Albanian nation to deprive it of its most prosperous and civilised section.

Neither argument, however, is cogent; the first could be met by the neutralization of the Corfu straits, under such a guarantee as we have proposed for Mitylene and Chios; it is also considerably weakened by the fact that the really commanding position on the eastern side of the Adriatic's mouth is not the Corfu Channel outside the Narrows, but the magnificent harbor of Avlona, just within them, a port of Moslem population to which the

Epirotes have never laid claim and which would therefore, in any case fall within the Albanian frontier.

The second argument is almost ludicrous: the destiny of Epirus is not primarily the concern of the Albanians, or for that matter, of the Greeks, but of the Epirotes themselves and it is hard to see how nationality can be defined except in terms of their own conscious and expressed desire, for a nation is simply a group of men desirous of organizing themselves for certain purposes, and can be brought into existence not by any specific external factors, but solely by the inward will of its members.

It was a travesty of justice to put the Epirotes at the mercy of the Moslem majority, which had been massacring them the year before, on the ground that they happened to speak the same language.

Mr. André Chéradame in his *Douze Ans de Propagande en Faveur des Pays Balkaniques,* writes:

"In Epirus Greece is confronted by Italy. The differences are great between the Governments of Athens and Rome. The Greeks, consequently, are very much stirred up by the project of Italian intervention in the south of Albania and even in the region to which they lay claim.

"And they are very much in the right, and declare that they have liberated Epirus with much blood, and that they mean to stay there, and that if Italy should decide to chase them out of Epirus, they would resist. 'Moreover,' they declare, 'the part of Epirus to which we lay claim is inhabited by a very large majority of Greeks. Let there be a plebiscite, and it will be seen.'

"The numerous schools, churches, monasteries that the Greeks have in Epirus is sufficient to prove that the Greeks run no risk in proposing a consultation of the population, and on this point the Italian sophisms are unjustifiable."

And in pages 228 and following of the same work of Mr. André Chéradame, we read:

"What are the frontiers of Albania? It is difficult to

tell, for the expression 'Albania' designates the most vague country in Europe.

"In reality, Albania consists of frontier regions so indefinite, and inhabited by races so varied (Albanians, Serbs, Greeks) that neither Albanians, Serbs nor Greeks are in any way of one accord as to the exact limits of Albania.

"Thus the Albanians pretend that Uskub is Albanian, an assertion which is without the slightest foundation. As to the plain of Kossovo, which was inhabited in the Middle Ages by Serbians, and was the centre of the Serbian Empire, the Albanians have established themselves by force, persecuting and exterminating the Serbian population, which up to the first Balkan war lived under the terror of the Albanian oppression.

"Austria-Hungary, having been frustrated by the Balkan Alliance in her plans to descend upon Salonica, and wishing to punish Serbia for her unwillingness to be subjugated by Austria, raised the problem of a Magna Albania to extend from Scutari to Jannina, and from the Adriatic to Uskub.

"If this solution is adopted, which is the solution the most favorable to the Austro-Germans, the following results would ensue:

"Serbia would be forever shut from access to the Adriatic. The Albanians would be allowed to profit by their wholesale murders and persecutions and, by the dislocation of the Serbians and the Greeks under the Turkish rule, Serbia and Greece would be despoiled of lands belonging to them by right of nationality and of untold sacrifices in blood in 1912.

"A large Albania established on the Serbian and Greek territories is not only against the principles of nationality but also against the interests of the Allies both in this war and in the future.

"The Albanians, under the Turkish régime, as corre-

ligionists of the latter, enjoyed under the Sultans the privilege of oppressing, of persecuting, and dislodging the Serbians from Uskub and Kossovo and the Greeks from N. Epirus. Out of 1,000,000 Albanians only 200,000 are Christians, 800,000 are Mussulmans, and in sympathy with Turkey and her allies. The Albanians who were forced out of Uskub and Kossovo by the liberating armies of Prince Alexander, and from Korytsa by the former Greek Crown Prince Constantine, have looked up to Bulgaria and to Austria. Should a large Albania be created at the expense of Serbia and Greece, we should not entertain any doubts as to the attitude of new Albania towards our Balkan Allies, Serbia and Greece. Albania instigated by Austria-Germany will connive with Bulgaria and Turkey to attack Serbia and Greece. With a strong Albania in the back of Serbia and of Greece, with a Germanized Bulgaria and Turkey, Prussia's road to the east will be always open and unimpeded.

"The principle of nationality demands that N. Epirus be allowed to join itself to Greece. In 1914 when the congress of London decided to include in Albania a large portion of N. Epirus, the entire population of N. Epirus rose up and fought bravely against their subjection to the barbarous and savage Albanian domination.

"Humanity also dictates that no civilized population should be forced to live under the ruthless hand of a savage people. The Greek people of N. Epirus, who have contributed more than any other portion of the Greek fatherland to the regeneration of Greece, who have given to Greece its greatest generals, benefactors, and educators, N. Epirus, which is the home of Greek schools and Greek churches, cannot be subjected to the savage rule of the tribes of *Ghegs* and *Torcs,* who for 500 years have done nothing else but oppress, persecute and despoil the peaceful and progressive Greek population of N. Epirus."

Having cited the facts about the tragedy of Northern Epirus as those facts are put by eminent writers, we can

now understand why the Epirotic question is so difficult and why we invoke the justice of the English speaking nations, America and Great Britain, to give us freedom, and to allow us to pursue the dictates of our conscience.

We have reached a point where we understand that the Epirotes have in reality no quarrel with the Albanians as to the Epirotic question but with the Great Power of the Adriatic, Italy.

Italy and Austria, as Mr. René Puaux explains, decided to make a greater Albania in the hope of dividing it between them later. In the *Literary Digest* of May 6, 1915, we read the following quotation from *L'Italie,* published in Rome. In this quotation Peter Kekaviqui, Secretary of the Marshalship at the Court of Wied, is said to have written: "Albania, in fact, being the creation of the Triple Alliance it is on the fate of the Austro-Hungarian and German Armies that its future political existence depends. Not only the head of the State, but every Albanian citizen, without distinction of religion, should feel compelled to fight on their side, in recognition of the liberators of Albania."

Mr. Reginald Wyon wrote in the *Blackwood's Magazine* of April, 1903:

"It is to be remembered that a ceaseless agitation is in progress, chiefly on the part of Austria, (through the priests) and of Italy (by means of the schools) to gain influence.

"The time will come when at least two of the great Powers will have to seriously consider the Albanian problem, who are both interested in its solution."

The *Literary Digest* of February 21, 1914, said:

"Austria-Hungary and Italy may regard the new Kingdom as a chess-board for playing their game of rivalry in the Adriatic."

In the *Spectator* of May 23, 1914, we read:

"Perhaps, the chief obstacle to a working arrangement on the Epirote *lines* is that Italy does not approve of it,

and so we come back to the fact that Italy's presence in Albania is a very significant thing. It is useless to prophesy. There is a mess; Austria and Italy may try to use that mess to their own profit."

What was prophesied by the *Spectator* and by Mr. Reginald Wyon came true. Italy which had been liberated by France in 1856; Italy which was still suffering at the hands of Austrian despotism in the irredentist Italian lands, the Italy of Cavour, Mazzini and Garibaldi, had lost her beautiful traditions during her unnatural association with the Germanic Empires. Italy the liberal, and pacific, had grown to be Italy the ultra-imperialistic, the ultra-despotic.

Greece had, since its independence, looked upon Italy with compassion, while Austria ruled the plains of the Piave. Greek Epirotes by the thousands rushed across the Adriatic in 1856, to fight and to shed their blood that Italy might become free. But in 1911, the whole Greek race was shocked at the discovery that Italy the beautiful, the Italy of Garibaldi, had already become a nation of the past.

In 1911, Italy occupied the twelve Greek Islands known as the Dodecanese. The Greek population received the Italians with enthusiasm. General D'Ameglio promised the people freedom. And when the Greeks asked that they be allowed to be united to Greece now that Italy had driven the Turks from their homes, General D'Ameglio became infuriated. The Dodecanese ever since has been subjected to a tyranny the like of which the Greek race has never witnessed even in the blackest day of Mohammedan domination. The Greek schools have been closed, the Greek clergy have been under trying persecutions; the spiritual leaders of the people are either in prison or in exile, for the crime of refusing to embrace Italian nationality and for desiring union with Greece.

When in 1912, the Greek world learned of the decision of Italy to mix up in the Balkan affairs, a pained outcry

arose. They knew that Italy, not satisfied with the Greek Islands in the Aegean, was coveting the Greek province of Northern Epirus, that she might continually have a chance for further interference and expansion in the Balkans.

And the Greek fears came true. Immediately after the fall of Jannina, Italy made it evident that she would not permit Greece to occupy permanently the Greek Province of Northern Epirus.

Mr. Venizelos would have risked a war with Italy had not the Balkan Alliance been undermined by the associated intrigues of Germany, Austria and Italy; with Bulgaria threatening war, with Austria mobilized, and with Turkey preparing to attack her victors, Mr. Venizelos reluctantly yielded to the cruel demands of the Italian government.

We have told the story of the treaty of London, according to which nearly two-thirds of Epirus was given up to Albania. We have related the revolt of the Northern Epirotes and their successful repulse of the Albanian forces. We have touched upon the Conference of Corfu whereby the Northern Epirotes were recognized by all the Powers, including Italy, as Greek-Epirotes, and their country as Epirus. We have seen that the Protocol of Corfu made N. Epirus autonomous, with Greek as the official language of the Autonomous State. We have also seen that immediately after the Conference of Corfu, Wied was driven out, that anarchy and civil wars broke out throughout Albania, and that the Moslem Albanian tribes, indifferent to the arguments of Italy about the brotherhood of Epirotes and Albanians, rushed into Northern Epirus, and began to plunder, burn and massacre the Christian Epirotes.

We have mentioned how the Powers, including Italy, recognized the danger to the Epirotes from the wild Mohammedan tribes, and permitted the Greek forces to reoccupy Epirus, and we have related how after Mr. Venizelos left Greece in 1916, Italy occupied Epirus.

The occupation of Northern Epirus by Italy in 1916 was a repetition of the occupation of the Dodecanese in 1911. The only remarkable difference was the more intense spirit of hatred towards the Greek element, and the more systematic persecution and extinction of the Greek element of Northern Epirus.

We are aware that these statements seem so incredible to American and British readers that the risk is incurred of being considered either a maniac or an irresponsible lunatic. For no American or Britisher can ever imagine that Italy, which is today struggling for the liberation of her oppressed children, has launched out upon a tyrannical policy of suppressing the sentiment of the Northern Epirotes and of forcing them by violence to abjure their allegiance to their mother-country, Greece. Unfortunately for the Northern Epirotes and for the fair name of the cause of our Allies, Italy, even at this hour, has not lifted the cross from the backs of the Northern Epirotes.

The Greek schools in Epirus which as we have seen had been the first Greek schools instituted after the regeneration of Greece, the Greek Church which has kept the fire of Hellenism burning in Northern Epirus, have been subjected to a most barbarous persecution.

Under the eyes, and by the approval of the Italian authorities, Albanian brigands have seized the leaders of the Northern Epirotes and have either killed them, or thrown them in prisons. The Greek teachers have been supplanted by Italians and Albanians. No Epirote can visit Greek Epirus.

The Northern Epirotes asked to be allowed to join the Greeks in fighting the Austro-Bulgars in Macedonia, and they were flatly refused.

The documents we cite here below are only a few among the hundreds which reach us daily, relating to the harrowing cruelties committed by the Albanians under the auspices of Italy. And we make them public not with any intention of casting aspersion on one of our Allies,

but in order to arouse the pity, and the sense of fair-play of America and England that they may take prompt steps and request Italy to put an end to a policy which as Mr. René Puaux writes will result in nothing else but in compromising the fair name of Italy and the noble struggle for which the democracies of the world are today shedding the blood of their youths.

CHAPTER XII

ALBANIAN ATROCITIES

THE following lists of atrocities and oppressions we have compiled from the daily Greek papers, in which relatives of the sufferers publish letters arriving from Epirus.

1

Norwich, Conn. April 14, 1918.

Mr. Soteriades' letter:

(extract)

My dear Stephanos:

I wish to announce to you that my cousin, Gregorios Soteriades (brother of the representative) was thrown into jail, in Argyrocastron, by the Italian Government, and died from maltreatment. ELIAS SOTERIADES.

2

From a letter sent to Mr. Savas Papadopoulos by his people living in Northern Epirus:

In Trikoupi, they killed Mr. Take Ntete.

In the district of Argyrocastron the Albanians are robbing and killing the Greek population.

In upper Lambovon, they killed four Greeks.

In Vlacho-Gorantzi, they killed six Greeks.

In the district of Zagori, they killed ten Greeks, and many others in other villages.

There are only Italian and Albanian schools in these districts and no Greek schools or Greek priests are allowed.

3

Mr. Panagiotis Ditsianis' letter reads in part as follows:

Southbridge, Mass.

Mr. Cassavetes:

. . . From a letter from Worcester, Mass., we learn the killing of five persons in Lower-Gorantzi (district of

Argyrocastron) in the most distressing way. The Albanians put out the eyes of their victims, then they cut their hands, legs and noses and left them half-dead. When this terrible fact was referred to the Italian Government, the officials said to the peasants: "As long as you like to be united with Greece it is only suffering that you have to expect." A letter relating the above fact is in the possession of Mr. Elias Liolios, Worcester, Mass.

4

A letter from Mr. N. Contes reads in part as follows:

. . . The Italian officials, besides the fact that they allow the Turco-Albanians to commit all kinds of atrocities among the Greek population even under their very eyes, have dismissed all the Greek teachers from the town Sopiki (district of Pogoni) and put Italian teachers in their places. . . .

N. CONTES.

5

A letter from Mr. Eustathios Gegas reads as follows:

Worcester, Mass., April 21, 1918.

To the President of the Pan-Epirotic Union, etc.

All the letters that come from our distressed Northern Epirus depict the situation in the darkest colors.

The officials of the Italian Government seized many leaders in the community of Premeti, all honest men and with dependents. We do not know what their fate has been so far. Among them there are two merchants, two real estate men, one physician, one professor, one priest, and many others. . . .

EUSTATHIOS GEGAS.

6

A letter from Mr. Spyridon Batsaris reads as follows:

Waterville, Me., Aug. 7, 1918.

My dear President of the Pan-Epirotic Union:

. . . All letters that are received here from our beloved

country are cut down by the Italian censor. Our people cannot write anything, not even about the lack of food, on account of the Italian fear. It is too bad that we enjoyed liberty only for a little while. Italian slavery is worse than Turkish ever was. . . .

SPYRIDON BATSARIS.

7

From a letter of Mr. Athanasios Gegas:

Worcester, Mass., June 10, 1918.

My dear Secretary of the Pan-Epirotic Union:

I have just received a letter from my people of the village "Glina" (district of Argyrocastron) and they informed me that Albanians have seized six Greeks from the village Upper-Gorantzi, and killed them. These Greeks were returning home from their farms. When this fact was reported to the Italian officials, they got the following answer: "As long as you want to be united with Greece, you are to suffer from the Albanians. . . ."

ATHANASIOS GEGAS.

8

Extract from Mr. Pantos' letter:

In a letter that I have received from my town I found a slip of printed paper put in by the Italian censor advising me to write on the envelope, Droviani, Albania, instead of Droviani, Epirus. I cannot see the justice of the Italian government when she wants to liberate the Italians of Trieste on the one hand, and on the other hand enslaves the Epirotes, etc.

K. PANTOS.

9

From a letter of Messrs. Vasilios Vallevos & Constantine Vassos:

My dear Mr. Cassavetes:

A large Albanian band seized the following peasants from the village of Vlacho-Gorantzi:

1. John Bitsios, 70 years old and lame;
2. Basil Bitsios, 5;
3. Charalambos K. Bessios;
4. Evangelos Kentros;
5. Constantine Papanastassios;
6. Demeter Telios.

All of them suffered terribly at the hands of the Albanian brigands and finally died, etc. . . .

VASILIOS VALLEVOS.
CONSTANTINE VASSOS.

10

A letter from Mr. K. A. Pantos reads in part as follows:

My dear Mr. Cassavetes:

. . . A friend of mine and member of our association has adopted a Mohammedan girl and brought her up in the Christian religion. Now "Vatra" the Albanian association, whose president is a Christian priest, wants to take her away from him and give her back to the Mohammedan-Albanians. The girl is unwilling to go. . . .

K. A. PANTOS.

11

A letter from Mr. Stephan Gionis is in part as follows:

Milwaukee, Wis. Mar. 9, 1918.

Dear Friend:

. . . On account of the murder of Mr. Papastathis [1] the officials seized seven persons (the list of names follows), and sent them in irons to Argyrocastron and Valona. . . .

STEPHEN GIONIS.

12

From a letter from Santi Quaranta the following para-

[1] This Papastathis came to Worcester from Austria and remained there as a priest of the Albanians. He left Worcester a few years ago threatening to kill all Greeks that he could in Northern Epirus. He was killed by the Albanians of the opposite party.

graph becomes interesting, in as much as the Italian censor erased four lines.

Santi Quaranta April 12, 1918.

Dear brother Sotiri:

. . . On the 26th of the past month Natsios . . . (here the Italian censor interrupted the narration) and he lived up to the 9th of this month and then died. . . .

ANDREAS.

Note—It is obvious that the Italian censor would not allow any information as to what this man suffered before he died, to leak out.

13

Extract from a letter of D. Lavares:

Dear Sir:

I consider it my duty to let you know that our countrymen are suffering in North Epirus from the Albanians and the local authorities as well.

Letters that we have received from Sopiki (Pogoni) and from Vostina report that an Albanian band took prisoners three men, Char. Matsoulras, Thomas Kogionas and Char. Volios and after having whipped them burned them with boiling oil. Their fate is unknown.

Also an Italian detachment arrested Mr. P. Mauromates and seven women and put them in dungeons in Argyrocastro. Nothing is known as to the cause of this action on the part of the Italian officials. Etc., etc.

(Signed) D. LAVARES.

14

Extract from a letter of Mr. Vasilios Styliaras:

Faviana, Italy, Feb. 11, 1918.

My dear Friends, Pauteli Tsini and Theodore Notti:

I have been here, as an exile, eight months. I was in prison in Valona for five months and now I am here an

exile on an island with no friends, and no countrymen around.

I beg you to send me some money because I am in a great need,—etc.

(Signed) VASILIOS STYLIARAS.

15

Extract from a letter of Mr. Vasilios K. Lenas:

Dear Sir:

A little distance away from the village of Upper Lambovon (district of Argyrocastro) Albanian brigands carried away the shepherds, Spyridon Memos, and his son Constantine and after receiving four thousand francs as ransom, set them free. This happened in July, 1917. In November of the same year another band of Albanian brigands killed Michael Gravos while he was working on his farm. In February 1918, Albanian brigands carried away Michael Louzes, a twelve year old boy and after receiving 8,000 francs as ransom set the boy free. These Albanian brigands carried away many other people and after receiving heavy ransoms they left them free.

(Signed) V. K. LENAS.

16

Jannina, May 25, 1918.

My dear Nicholas:

The Greek authorities have gone as far as Delirnakion since last October, and even as far as Kossovitza and Vostina. From there north all the places are occupied by the Italians.

Now, you can imagine how we get along in our villages. The Abanians are supported by the Italians and do as they please. They are now wreaking their vengeance on the Christians. The Moslem Albanians have grown great and powerful. Bazes has again returned to our village, and has begun his old game—burning our poor huts.

We are obliged to suffer everything, and to wait for the

arrival of the Greek army. I tell you now the Christians with joy and hope wait for the arrival of the Greek troops, indeed with more joy than in 1913, when they were to be freed from the Turks. So much have they been oppressed.

In vain do we wait daily for the Greek forces to march into Northern Epirus. They are ordered to go to Saloniki.

In all of North Epirus the Greek teachers have been dismissed by the Italians, and the Fratelli work as if they never intended to leave the place.

Italian and Albanian teachers were sent to replace the Greeks. But the Albanian teachers have everywhere been driven out of the villages, and no parent will send his child to learn Albanian.

SPYROS.

17

A report sent by Basil, the Metropolitan Bishop of Dryinopolis and Argyrocastron, to Mr. B. Venizelos.

July 18, 1917.

I have the honor to submit to your Excellency the following:

During the ministry of your Excellency's predecessors I submitted again and again reports with accurate details concerning violations, murders, arson, and expatriation on the part of the Albanians, assisted in a very large measure by the local Italian military authorities both in North and South Epirus.

But the former ministry of Greece informed me that it could not then approach the Italian Embassy at Athens owing to the attitude of the Allies toward the Government of King Constantine.

Thus nothing was done by your predecessor's ministry to secure tolerable conditions of life for the innocent victims of Epirus. As a matter of fact, these unfortunate Greek

people have been deprived even of their spiritual leadership, by my violent expulsion on the 22nd of September, 1916, from Argyrocastron, escorted by an Italian guard of fifteen soldiers with bayonets fixed, as if I were a criminal. In fact, I was told that I was pernicious to public safety because I protested against the occupation of our towns by Italian troops who came to promote the Albanification of North Epirus.

I do merely repeat now what in previous reports I have communicated to your Excellency's predecessors. The atrocities committed by the Albanians have been protested against by the Deputies from North Epirus, and by the numerous Epirotic Societies in the Kingdom of Greece.

In May 1917, the Italian Government, in order to please a small minority of Albanians, declared Albania independent and under her protection.

I beg your Excellency to take drastic measures for the security of the lives and properties of the suffering Epirotes, and for the return of those who have been violently expatriated to various unhealthy places, and more especially to a deserted island near Cyrenica, on the ground that they refused to raise the Albanian flag when Italy, having driven away the Greek authorities, established an arbitrary Albanophile régime.

Hoping that your Excellency will be so good as to take salutary measures in behalf of the steadily perishing Greek population of North Epirus, I pray incessantly for your Excellency's health and happiness.

BISHOP OF DRYINOPOLIS AND ARGYROCASTRON.

Athens, July 18, 1917.

September, 1916.

a) The Bishop of Dryinopolis and the trustee of the Metropolis Porphyrios Bumbos were violently expelled.

b) The Monastery of Melana was forcibly occupied by Italian troops and surrendered to Moslem Albanians who transformed it into a *take* or Turkish Mosque.

October, 1916.

c) Ninety leaders of the Greek community in the town of Drymades, of Himara were expelled and transported to a little desert island near Tripoli, in Africa, and there are strictly secluded. Other victims have been thrown into the dungeons of Argyrocastron, accused of having refused to raise the Albanian flag. Such are the brothers Stavros and Anastasios Tsakas and others. . . .

November, 1916.

d) In the villages Trivouki, Kato Lamboven, and Houdoukouki the Albanians have killed twelve Greeks.

e) Three Moslem Albanians of Linbehovo with four Carabinieri attacked the Greek teacher Stephanos Katzalides in the village Vrahosorourtzi, after having forced the door of the Greek school.

December, 1916.

f) Thirty-two Christians from Drorsani, for the lack of postal service, sent letters to the Epirotic city of Jannina by messengers, and were immediately cast into dungeons.

g) Near Kato Lamboven Christ Kentron Totes was killed.

h) At Palaeocastron the priest Gregory was assassinated.

i) In Tsagioupi an elderly Greek mother and her son were murdered.

j) Near the village Lecles two young men of Greek parentage were murdered.

k) In the district of Delirno, of Liountza, of Zagoria, on pretext of disarming the Greek population, very many innocent Greeks were cast into dungeons, others were beaten to death, some were expatriated, and the entire Greek population was terrorized.

l) Over 2,000 Moslem Albanians enlisted as volunteers, and under Italian uniform were sent to different parts of North Epirus to terrorize the Greek population to become Albanians.

January, 1917.

m) Italian Carabinieri desecrated the Holy of Holies of the Greek Orthodox Churches in the villages of Houmenitza and Palaeocastron.

February, 1917.

n) In all the Greek villages, Italian schools were first opened, and now Moslem priests (Hodjas) are imposed upon the Christian Greeks, to teach the children the Albanian language. Very numerous Moslem Albanian families take the place of the persecuted Greek families, in order that the world may be confronted by an accomplished fact when peace is concluded and North Epirus may be assigned to Albania on the ground that it is inhabited by Albanians.

o) In the village of Senitza of the district of Delirno a certain Mohammedan Albanian, Messia Ghiontas, with a band of thirty robbers stole away 360 head of cattle, and killed Michael Petrou, and carried away with them to the prisons of Delirno a certain Christian Greek, D. Anastasopoulos where he died of exposure.

March and April, 1917.

p) In the village of Costari the Moslem Albanians Vehip Gotris and Tzape with eleven Albanian bandits destroyed the house of N. Cotes and seized Lambis Tsizis whom they bound to a tree, and killed by mutilating his body.

q) In a town in Filiates, eighteen community leaders of Greek race were seized, and sent in irons to the dungeon of Argyrocastron, and their fates are unknown.

r) The Greek priest Papagiannes of Depalitia was seized and sent in chains to the dungeon of Valona, under the accusation of having incited rebellion.

s) Vassil Styliares, of Ostemnitsa, of the District of Premeti was shot, because he had taken part in the rebellion of 1914 against the Albanian rule in North Epirus. On a

similar accusation the Albano-Italians hanged Gregory Kaliantzes of Ostemnitsa.

t) In the town of Tsagouzi the Albanians demanded the surrender of a Greek Epirote, Nasios Kotos. Kotos did not appear. The Albanians seized Kotos' young wife, and demanded 5,000 drachmas, pretending that Kotos owed that sum to them. Upon her refusing to give up the money, they bound her to a tree, and murdered her by pouring over her body boiling oil.

u) Seventeen villagers of the village of Lecles were butchered in the fields while they were working there, on the ground that they too had risen in rebellion against the Albanian state.

v) During Passion week, the immemorial custom of ringing the bells was abolished.

w) The communications between the portion of Epirus occupied by Italy, and that now belonging to Greece have been totally stopped.

x) The Italians drove away the Greek officials, and collected the taxes which belong to the Greek government.

y) All the civil and judicial clerks that occupied their positions under the autonomy of North Epirus have been dismissed, then imprisoned, and their properties confiscated, and the amount of taxes paid by the Mussulmans to the Greek government was returned to the Mohammedan Albanians.

z) Despite the assurances of Italy that her occupation of North Epirus would be but temporary, and that such occupation was dictated by military necessities, the Italian commander in North Epirus, General Prussi, has raised with great ceremonies the Albanian flag, and announced officially the termination of the jurisdiction of Greece over North Epirus.

z′) On Easter day April 2, by permission of the Italian authorities a certain Papapanos from Roumania, came from Valona to Argyrocastron and was appointed priest by the Italian local authorities. Papapanos read mass in

Albanian. Whereupon the Christians rushed out. This disapproval of the Albanian language by the Christians of Northern Epirus annoyed the Italian authorities, who immediately afterwards ordered the arrest of forty wealthy Greeks of Argyrocastron.

That Italy has followed, not the Italian traditions but German methods in the treatment of the Epirotes, is shown in the desperate appeal made by the Greek Deputies from Northern Epirus who were refused admission to the Greek Parliament by Mr. Venizelos, like the Cretan deputies in 1910, in order to avoid European complications.

The Deputies from Northern Epirus protest against the barbarous attempt of the military authorities of Italy to exterminate the Greek element of Northern Epirus.

Protest of the Deputies

The deputies of Northern Epirus have submitted to the Greek Parliament a declaration affirming thereby the Hellenic character of their country, and its attachment to the mother country, Greece, and protesting against the violation of its rights. They demanded admission to the Parliament to represent North Epirus. Premier Venizelos answered:

"The touching appeal of the deputies from North Epirus finds a profound echo not only in the hearts of those who constitute the Parliament, but also in the soul of the entire nation. Unfortunately, the criminal policy of the Cabinet which succeeded the Cabinet of the Liberals resulted for North Epirus in the discontinuation of the Hellenic occupation effected by the Ministry of the Liberals with the consent or rather with the tolerance of all the Great Powers. Today, we are deprived of an international title to North Epirus, although we are not deprived of our just right to it. We do not abandon our just claims to North Epirus, but at this time we do not wish to create international difficulties. For this reason

we cannot accept here the deputies from North Epirus. Yet, we cannot forget that we are bound to this region by ties which it is true are not written down by any treaty, but which are more powerful than any human decisions, or any convention of nations. To this section of Hellas, the nation is bound not only by a common history of many thousands of years, but also by its ethnography, and by the resolute decision of the inhabitants who can never cease to be Hellenes, and can never agree to submit themselves to a foreign domination. Even if the action of the ancient régime gave grounds for fear that those natural and undissoluble bonds would not suffice to make our title good in North Epirus, there cannot exist any such fear today, when Greece has entered the path which was imposed upon her by her history, by her traditions, by her treaty obligations, by her vital interests. There can exist no such a fear today when Greece is making painful sacrifices for the common struggle. She cannot fear the judgment of the Peace Table after the war, for she will be adequately represented there. It is impossible to imagine that Greece's just rights in Epirus will be disregarded, because these rights are in perfect agreement with the noble ends for which the Allies are battling."

The words of the Premier were received with great approbation even by his bitter opponents.

In a very able editorial in the *Christian Science Monitor,* the painful situation of the Greeks in Northern Epirus and in the Dodecanese is pictured in a very frank and open manner. The editorial bears the title, "Italy and Greek Nationalism," and reads as follows:

"M. Venizelos, the 'Grand Old Man of Greece,' has often had to defend himself from his enemies, but lately he has had the far more formidable task of defending himself against the suspicions of his friends. Rumors have been circulated of intrigues in which Greece is accused of a hostile feeling toward Italy and Italy of jealousy toward Greece. Now, the tug of war between the Greek and

the Italian has been over the Ægean Islands and Epirus, and the upshot of the tussle is bringing Italy face to face with two very awkward factors which may roughly be termed geographical justice and Hellenism. The Ægean Islands, though they appeared to be a kind of Tom Tiddler's ground when the Tripolitan Quarrel was on with Turkey, are in reality so many duodecimo Cretes in their feeling for Greek nationalism. Italy very properly wrested some of them from the Turk, only to find that she had raised the troublesome hornet's nest of 'Union with Greece,' about her ears."

The ruthless hand of the Roman Sulla once wiped out Greek nationality as represented by the Athenian state, and Rome became the heir of the ages and unconsciously linked Greece with our own days; but nothing has ever served to wipe out Greek tradition or race from the Ægeans. The islands are uniformly Greek in population, though the names of the great families of Rome or Naples may be writ upon some of them. But now that Italy has made the idea of national self expression her own, she will doubtless be morally bound, not only to Greece but to civilization generally, so far to satisfy national aspirations as to consent to the union of the occupied islands with Greece, if they so demand. Her retention of them is not altogether a matter of Greek complacency. Greek unity and nationalism are not merely the concepts of theorists, but real forces, which are spreading throughout the Ægean and have manifested themselves in Epirus. This little territory on the Adriatic, its demand for political union with the national state, is one of the most striking examples of this protective power in Hellenism. The Epirotes may speak an Albanian dialect, but their rapprochement with the Greeks is concretely symbolized by the Greek schools established in generous numbers among them. The hour of their deliverance from Moslem oppression struck with the entrance of the Greek armies in 1913. But unfortunately Epirus was of interest to others besides its

Hellenized inhabitants. It occupied an important geographical position facing the extreme heel of Italy, at the entrance to the Adriatic, and Italy managed to have it included in the newly created principality of Albania, on the ground that both shores ought to be in the hands of the same power. The scheme for Albanian union proved abortive, as might naturally have been expected.

The disposal of the Epirotes, it is now recognized, was a matter concerning the Epirotes themselves. No longer can a nation or people be brought into existence, or snuffed out, except by the inward, subjective leanings of its constituents. The award of the powers roused great indignation in Greece, but not less so in Epirus. The inhabitants clamored for, and obtained, home rule and the recognition of Greek as the official language of the administration. The reoccupation by Greek troops became a necessity of the anarchy which followed the breakup of the artificial Albanian state, and Italy found a satisfactory material guarantee by the occupation of the strategical port of Avlona, to the north. She is, therefore, unlikely to demand Greek evacuation to the south.

But that is not to say that the former rivals are settling down to the condition of good neighbors. The problem of Epirus can by no means be considered as permanently closed. But in the meantime it will be interesting to see what effect the "new mind of Europe," with regard to the rights of submerged territories or nationalities, will have upon Italy's claim to spheres of influence in the Greek archipelagoes.

CHAPTER XIII

THE EPIROTIC QUESTION IN AMERICA AND IN GREAT BRITAIN

GREAT BRITAIN, as the foremost European nation, has taken a very lively interest in the Epirotic Question. Apart from Mr. Dillon, Mr. Wyon, and M. Caillard, who wrote at a time when Albania did not exist as a State, many writers of Great Britain have taken intense interest in the struggle between Epirus and Albania.

In America only one gentleman has written and spoken in favor of the subjugation of Epirus, not only Northern Epirus, but the Southern also, that is, Jannina, Preveza and so on, to Albania—Reverend James Barton, the General Secretary of A. B. C. F. M. Foreign Missions.

We reproduce from the *Boston Evening Transcript* both an extract of a lecture by Dr. Barton and the reply of the *Transcript*.

Dr. Barton's Speech at the Evangelical Alliance of Greater Boston in the Park Street Church

"The newspapers of Boston and of America in general have applauded Montenegro for her attempt to rob Albania of one of her chief cities. Montenegro has no more right to Scutari than Greece to Korytsa, Jannina, all Albanian cities, never belonging to their captors. The unfriendly attitude of Greece toward all religious and educational advance is so conspicuous, that to allow Albania to remain under her jurisdiction is but to condemn the Albanians of that area to religious and mental stagnation."

On May 21st, 1913, appeared in the *Transcript* the following in answer to Dr. Barton:

"According to Turkish official reports there are in Korytsa 2200 Greek families and 500 Mohammedan Albanians, four hundred of the latter having declared in favor of union with Greece.

"In 1825 there were Greek schools in Korytsa, but not one Albanian. In the 18th century Korytsa had a Greek printing press. There are in Korytsa today, 1 Greek college for boys, 2 Greek high schools for boys and 2 for girls. There are 7 kindergartens with 2000 pupils. In the Korytsa district there are 114 Greek churches, 57 Greek schools, 260 teachers, and 1 Albanian school with 60 pupils.

"Jannina is the Athens of Epirus in point of view of the number and quality of the Greek schools.

"The Greek Government asked the Powers to allow the people of Epirus to decide by plebiscite their national sentiments. Austria and Italy refused to accept such a solution. They felt sure that the people as a whole would decide in favor of union with Greece."

It is needless to say that Dr. Barton has never visited Epirus, and has, perhaps, never read any works on Epirus. Like the good Christian that he is, he believes that all his fellowmen are truthful like himself. And this faith in the veracity of Rev. Dako, a notorious organ of Italy's interests in Albania, Protestant in religion, has misled Dr. Barton to make a statement which the *Transcript* has refuted with much irony and with numbers which speak for themselves.

In Great Britain the two warm advocates of a greater Albania are Sir Aubrey Herbert and Miss Durham.

Miss Durham has visited Albania for two weeks; she has become infatuated with what she calls "chivalrous brigands." She admits that she has spent only a few passing hours at Korytsa, and tells how she believes that the whole of Epirus is Albanian. Sir Aubrey has never seen Epirus. Relying on the reports of Albanians, he has accused the

Greeks of having committed atrocious deeds against the Albanian population.

Perhaps we can best confute what Miss Durham and Sir Aubrey Herbert say against the Epirotes by referring the reader to the excellent lecture delivered by Colonel Murray in Morley Hall on the 7th of January, 1913, on "Northern Epirus in 1913," which is reproduced in full in Appendix A (p. 135).

CHAPTER XIV

THE EPIROTES IN AMERICA

THERE are in America nearly 30,000 Epirotes from Northern Epirus. With very few exceptions most of them have their families in Northern Epirus. They have come to America fleeing the cruelties of the Albanians and the Young Turks.

In 1914, many thousands of these Epirotes went back to help their brothers to beat off the Albanians' invasion of their liberated homes. After the conference of Corfu, whereby the Northern Epirotic Autonomy was recognized, the American Epirotes returned to America. But when Italy occupied Northern Epirus and the persecution of the Greek element began in that Province, the Epirotes in America, like those in Egypt, in Greece, in London, in Paris and in South Africa, became alarmed and organized themselves into what are known as the Pan-Epirotic Unions.

The Pan-Epirotic Unions have been organized in order to bring the case of Epirus before the civilized world, and to demand justice from those who are to decide upon the destinies of the small nationalities at the great Conference of Peace.

The Pan-Epirotic Union in America is one of the largest Epirotic Societies, including practically every Epirote in America.

We take from the Constitution of the Pan-Epirotic Union in America the following passages which give the purposes and the aims of the Epirotes:

WHEREAS: Northern Epirus, after its liberation by the victorious Grecian armies in 1913, has been forced anew

by certain Great European Powers to subjugation to the yoke of a savage and barbarous people:

WHEREAS: the Northern Epirotes rose unanimously against assassination of their rights, and filed their protests before the entire civilized world against their forced subjugation to the Albanian rule:

WHEREAS: certain Great Powers have refused to recognize that Northern Epirus, liberated by the Greek army, is very Greek ethnologically and historically:

WHEREAS: these great Powers and the Albanians employ every legitimate and illegitimate means in order that they may color Northern Epirus as Albanian, and to the end that they may mislead the very liberal and disinterested opinion of the Great Republic of the United States:

THEREFORE, We, the representatives of the Epirotic Associations in this hospitable land, having assembled ourselves in congress and deliberated, this day, Saturday, the 9th of March, in the year of our Lord 1918, in the Hall of the Knights of Columbus, in the City of Worcester, in the State of Massachusetts, do decide to found in America, a Pan-Epirotic Union.

The purpose of the Union is the pursuance of the union of the entire Northern Epirus with the mother land, Greece:

(a) By the enlightenment of the official and public opinions of America on the Hellenic character of the entire Province of North Epirus.

(b) By their unalterable determination to protest most vigorously against any attempt to separate any portion of Northern Epirus from the mother-country, Greece.

The following are the branches of the Pan-Epirotic Union in America:

1. Henosis, 812 W. 63rd St., Chicago, Ill.
2. Pyrrhus, 7½ Oliver St., New York.
3. Pavlos Melas, P. O. Box 230, Southbridge, Mass.
4. Marcos Bozzaris, 153 Mechanic St., Worcester, Mass.
5. North Epirotic Amyna, 6 W. Market St., Akron, O.
6. Zalongon, 312 P. O. Box, Ambridge, Pa.
7. Brockton Society, 352 Main St., Brockton, Mass.
8. E. Zappas, P. O. Box 307, Clinton, Mass.
9. Eleutheria, 65 Appleton St., Boston, Mass.
10. Ch. Zographos, 154 Main St., Biddeford, Maine.
11. Agonizomene Epiros, 428 Erie Bldg., Cleveland, O.
12. Tjavellas, 962 Main St., Fitchburg, Mass.
13. Lord Byron, Woonsocket, R. I., P. O. Box 508.
14. D. Doulis, 34A Walnut St., Peabody, Mass.
15. National Epirotic Society, Milwaukee, Wis.
16. George Averof, Franklin, N. H.
17. Ethnicos Pothos, Waterville, Maine.
18. Ethnike Amyna, 258½ E. Boardman St., Youngstown, O.
19. Arsakis, P. O. Box 10, Yantic, Conn.
20. Agonizomene Himara, P. O. Box 324, Elyria, O.
21. Omonia Society, 135 Lincoln St., Lewiston, Maine.
22. Lowell Society, 11 Associate Bldg., Lowell, Mass.
23. George Stavros, 597 Post St., San Francisco, Cal.
24. Panagiotis Danglis, 919 Fourth St., Sioux City, Ia.
25. Kyanoleukos Simaia, P.O.Box166, So.Omaha, Neb.
26. Spyromelios, c/o Cr. Soteriades, 43 Pleasant St., Lynn, Mass.

The Epirotes in the United States, grieved by the illiberal policies of Italy, to whom they have always looked as to a free and democratic Christian country for help, protested very vigorously against the atrocious persecutions of their relatives in Northern Epirus, who resisted every oppressive measure applied against them to force

them to abjure their allegiance to Greek culture and to submit to the Albanian Beys.

We give here in full the protests, etc., of the Pan-Epirotic Union in America handed to the embassies of France and Great Britain in Washington, to the embassy of the United States in Athens;—and to the congress of the Mid-European Union, which was held in Independence Hall in Philadelphia, Pa.

Légation Britannique,
Washington, D. C.
Your Excellency:—

In addressing ourselves to the high representative of the Royal and Imperial Government of Great Britain, we feel that, however confident we may be in the justice of our cause, it becomes us, as subjects of an allied nation, in recommending a subject which may expose the Royal and Imperial Government of your Excellency to the hazard of the displeasure of another allied nation, while we explain the grounds for our recommendation, to accompany our explanations with expressions of regret.

We can assure your Excellency that there is not among all the subjects of the allied nations any group of men more deeply convinced than they who have the honor to address themselves to your Excellency, of the vital importance of making as few complaints, and of creating as few difficulties for the Allied Governments at this very crucial period of the war, as are humanly possible.

So strongly are we impressed with this opinion that we would gladly compromise, pass over, or adjourn the redress of any personal injury rather than call upon the Government of your Excellency, at this moment, to take any measures which might have the tendency to involve it in misunderstandings with one of our Allies. Yet, we feel that not our own private injuries, not our own personal disappointments, but the interests of the cause of the

Allies,—that cause which absorbs the anxious concern of every lover of liberty,—impel us to submit our case to your Excellency's notice, and to invite upon it your Excellency's gracious attention.

In order that we may be brief, we beg leave to state our case correctly and in the clearest manner in which we are able.

From across the ocean, from that long-tried corner in which we were brought into the world, the Province of North Epirus, mournful lamentations are daily streaming to us protesting against an illiberal policy of oppression on the part of officials of the Royal Government of our noble Ally,—Italy.

Under the auspices and under the encouragement of the Italian officials, the Albanians are repeating these acts of cruelty which had brought our fathers and us to the verge of despair and expatriation.

Our patience, our endurance, our national fortitude were ebbing away, and our love for our mother, Hellas, was being stifled year after year by the uncouth tyranny of the Albanian Beys. But the day finally arrived,—that sacred day, for which fifteen generations of Epirotes had waited, and the flag of Hellas waved over our bleeding native land radiating from its folds liberty, security, and national restoration. But, unfortunately, free Epirus, with its strategic position on the Adriatic, offended the interests of Italy, the third member of the Triple Alliance. Supported by Germany and Austria, Italy wrung from the unwilling Governments of Great Britain and France the consent to include our native land in the Albanian State in order that the Adriatic might remain a sea accessible only to the Triple Alliance. We demonstrated that we preferred to die rather than be separated from Hellenism.

Since 1915 the world was happy to behold the noble people of Italy abandon the unnatural alliance with the autocratic government and people of central Europe.

And we, the Epirotes, were relieved from the terrible nightmare of a renewed subjugation at the command of the country of Mazzini, Cavour, and Garibaldi. Thank God, Italy is no longer afraid of the navies of England and France. Italy fears no longer that Greece, the protégée of England and France, will make North Epirus a naval base against the Triple Alliance.

The fortunes of the Great War have necessitated the occupation of our dear native land, North Epirus, by the valiant soldiers of France and Italy. And France, faithful to her immortal traditions of justice and friendship for the peoples that strive for liberty, has won the undying love and the solemn loyalty of our fathers and brothers in the district of Korytsa. We rejoiced at the arrival of these brothers-in-arms,—the sons of free Italy. We acclaimed them as liberators. But, we were soon to rue their arrival on account of their unsuspected enmity to our Hellenic convictions. Today, our schools are closed. Our teachers and our priests are under persecution. The sacred rights not denied to our fathers and to us by the cruel Ali Pasha and Sultan Hamid, are denied by our Ally.

The exasperating news of such an unprecedented intolerance, spreading itself like wild fire among our brothers in Greece and in America, sows doubt in the hearts of the Hellenes as to the ultimate justice to the small and the weak, and prepares the ground for the ubiquitous and poisonous German propaganda.

Will not your Excellency, a British Ambassador, representing the mightiest and freest Empire under the sun, acquaint your Excellency's Government with the deplorable condition of our brothers and fathers in North Epirus and employ your good offices so that our Ally, Italy, whose people is endeared to us through countless evidences of friendship in the past, may order the termination of the unworthy task of exterminating Hellenism in North Epirus? Will not the Government of Great

Britain mediate to the end that our schools where we learned to love freedom, and our Churches where we learned to love Christ, be restored to us and that the lives of our fathers and brothers be not jeopardized by their love for their mother country,—Greece?

This, your Excellency, is the subject of or humble petition. We would bear much and would forbear long, had it concerned only our own parents, our relatives, or our own freedom. Such is our anxiety that no trouble, no diversions should be caused to the Governments of our Allies from the main object of winning the war. If we have taken the liberty of addressing this petition to your Excellency, we were actuated for the greater part by a concern for the general cause of the Allies and for its good repute among the Greek people, who are already mingling their blood with that of their brethren from England, France, America, and Italy, in the great field of honor.

Trusting in the British Justice of your Excellency for the relief of our brothers and for the vindication of the good name of the Allies, we are,

(Signed)

Your Obedient Servants,

President,
Dr. J. Gatsopoulos.
Vice-presidents,
S. Hatzigcanna,
N. C. Vardakas.
Secretary,
N. Cassavettes.

Councillors
V. Meliones,
M. Mitchell,
L. Kalyvas,
E. John,
K. Gatsopoulos.

Légation Française,
Washington, D. C.

Your Excellency:—

In addressing ourselves to the high representative of the Republic of France, we feel that we are turning to a familiar friend. The name of France, we have learned since our childhood in the mountain villages of North

Epirus to revere and to love with as passionate a love as that with which we love Hellas,—our motherland.

To divert your Excellency's overtasked attention from the present affairs which, we know, are exacting every minute of your Excellency's hour, we realize is not only uncivil and ungracious, but also unpatriotic at these critical times. We can assure your Excellency, however, that no private interests, no selfish motives, no personal injuries, however serious they might be, would have induced us to break in upon your pressing time. Only the conviction for which the admirable sons of immortal France are shedding their blood in profusion, has prevailed upon us to bring it to your Excellency's cognizance.

From across the ocean, from that long-tried corner in which we were brought into the world, the Province of North Epirus, mournful lamentations are daily streaming to us protesting against the illiberal policy of oppression on the part of the officials of the Royal Government of our noble Ally,—Italy. Under the auspices, and through the encouragement of the Italian officials, the Albanians are repeating those revolting acts of cruelty which had brought our fathers and us to the verge of despair and expatriation.

Our patience, our endurance, our national fortitude were ebbing away, and our love for our mother Hellas was being stifled by the uncouth tyranny of the Albanian Beys. But the day finally dawned,—that sacred day, for which fifteen generations of Epirotes had waited, and the flag of Hellenism waved over our bleeding native land, radiating from its white and blue folds liberty, security, and national restoration.

But free Epirus was coveted by powerful nations. Italy, supported by Germany and Austria, insisted upon the separation of Epirus from Greece, for fear Greece should allow the straits to become the naval base for France and England against the Triple Alliance.

We revolted, although Mr. Venizelos was forced with

heavy heart to abandon us to our own powers. We have demonstrated to the world that unless we are permitted to live united to our motherland, Greece, we will not shrink from death to the last of us.

Since 1915, the world is happy to behold the whole people of Italy on the side of the champions of liberty and justice. We, too, the Epirotes, welcomed the entrance of Italy into the war with exultation, for we imagined Italy would no longer fear that Greece would allow the French and English fleets in the straits. We welcomed the valiant sons of France in the district of Korytsa, and those of Italy at Argyrocastro. And France, faithful to her immortal traditions of friendship for and justice to all peoples that struggle for their liberties has won the undying love of our fathers and brothers for the chivalrous way the officials of France deported themselves toward them. On the contrary, Italy, in the words of a great French Philhellene, Mr. René Puaux, "n'a gagné à cette obstination dans l'injustice qu'à s'aliéner pour toujours l'amitié du peuple Gréc." Today our schools where we learned to love Greece, to love France, to love Liberty, are shut down; the Churches, where we learned to worship our God, who will give France her victory, are no longer accessible to our parents and to our relatives. Our teachers and our venerable priests are dying in dungeons because they are Hellenes, and wish to be united to Hellas.

The exasperating news of such an unprecedented intolerance, spreading itself like a wild fire among our brothers in Greece and in America, instills in their hearts ugly doubts as to the ultimate justice to the small and the weak, preparing the ground for the ubiquitous and poisonous German Propaganda.

Will not your Excellency, the Ambassador of France, representing the freest Republic in the World, acquaint your Excellency's Government with the deplorable conditions of our fathers and brothers in North Epirus and employ your good offices to the end that our Ally, Italy,

whose people had so endeared itself to us in the past through her noble sons Cavour, Mazzini, and Garibaldi, may put an end to the unworthy task of exterminating Hellenism from North Epirus? Will not the Government of our beloved France mediate that our schools be restored to us and be reopened, our Churches returned and our relatives allowed to adhere to their national convictions?

This, your Excellency, is the subject of our humble petition. We would bear much, and would forbear long, had it concerned only our parents, our relatives, and our freedom. Such is our anxiety that no diversion should be caused to the cares of the Governments of our Allies from the main object of winning the war. If we have taken the liberty to address this petition to your Excellency, we were actuated, for the greater part, by a concern for the general cause of the Allies, and for their good repute among the Greek people, who are already mingling their streams of blood with those of the sons of France, America, England, and Italy, in the field of honor.

Trusting in the love France cherishes for Hellas, for the relief of our fathers in Epirus, and for the vindication of the good name of our Allies, we are,

Your obedient servants,

The President,
Dr. J. Gatsopoulos.

The Councillors
(Signatures)

May 15, 1918.

Légation des États Unis,
Athènes, Grèce.

Your Excellency:

The Epirotes dwelling in the Great Republic which your Excellency so nobly represents, in the Capital of Hellenism, enjoying the blessings of Liberty, Justice and Equality in a degree embarrassing for its generosity, have the honor to address themselves to your Excellency to ex-

press their admiration of, and their gratitude to America, and to ask your Excellency's mediation in behalf of our unfortunate brothers and parents in N. Epirus.

We receive furtive news apprising us of their frightful sufferings at the hands of the Albanians under the auspices of our Ally, Italy. In Korytsa, where the noble French Army has been established, both we and the Albanians enjoy freedom. Our schools and our churches are open, and our parents are not under persecution. On the contrary, in the district occupied by Italian soldiers, our schools have been closed, our Churches taken away from us, and any one daring to call himself a Hellene, is cast into dungeon.

When this unfortunate news reaches us, and, no doubt, it trickles back to Greece, it chills the ardor of the Hellenes for the cause of the Allies. The Hellenes believe that the Allies are too weak to be able to render justice, for while the Allies disapprove of all modes of oppression and are fighting to stamp it out, they do not insist that Italy show a liberal policy in N. Epirus. It is not only for the recovery of our Churches and the salvation of our parents from persecution that we appeal to your Excellency. We appeal much more for the cessation of a policy which has very prejudicial effects upon the Greek people in Greece and in America, in respect to the great cause of the Allied World.

We believe in America, in France and in England. We believe that they will do justice to all peoples and races. We are not asking justice for our own selves. We desire freedom and justice for all oppressed peoples.

Will not your Excellency use his good offices to the end that our Ally, Italy, may order the cessation of the extermination of Hellenism in N. Epirus for the sake of the good reputation of our great cause?

The Epirotes in America serving in the United States Army will be forever indebted to the great country your

Excellency represents in Greece and will repay you by laying down their lives generously for the glory of America.

Your Obedient Servants:

The President, The Councillors
Dr. J. Gatsopoulos. (Signatures)

Appeal to the Congress of the Unredeemed Nationalities

c/o Mr. Vasilakaki, Greek Deputy,
Independence Hall, Phila., Pa.

Being advised that the Albanians have claimed Northern Epirus as Albanian, we the Pan-Epirotic Union in America representing over 50,000 Epirotes, living in this great Republic and coming mostly from Northern Epirus, protest with all our might against such statements which present anything but the truth.

We claim that Epirus has always been Greek in all ethnological and historical aspects and, that, although Northern Epirus was included in Albania in 1913 on the insistence of Austria-Hungary, it has nevertheless been recognized as Greek in Corfu. This statement of the Albanians is misrepresenting the truth, as was proven in 1914 at Corfu, when the European Powers recognized their mistake of adding Northern Epirus to Albania on the insistence of Austria-Hungary and Italy, by signing the Protocol of Corfu, which protocol recognizes Northern Epirus as an Independent State with all the rights of self-government. This took place after the complete success of the Northern-Epirotic Revolution, which lasted for eight months and proved beyond doubt the Greek character of the Northern Epirotes from an ethnological point of view as any writer of history will admit.

We were born Greek and our rights to church and schools were recognized by the Government of the Ottoman Empire. We are going to remain Greeks and in

case of need we will prove it once more by repeating the history of 1914.

We believe that your Congress, which will present to the Peace Council the rights of the unredeemed nationalities, will not forget to set forth the rights of the North Epirotes who demand their union with Mother Greece in the most categorical manner on the basis of facts which have been proven true in all the ethnological and historical past of the Epirotes.

CHAPTER XV

CONCLUSION

Had not the Great War brought forth new ideals; had not the Great War brought forth a Lloyd George, a Wilson and a Clemenceau upon the arena of world politics, we should not have attempted to write this booklet. Rather should we have issued an appeal to the Northern Epirotes to take up arms and defend their homes and their sacred liberties against any tyrant.

Fortunately for the Epirotes and for all the oppressed nationalities, the days of bargaining away the freedom and the lives of small nationalities has passed.

Today the conscience of the world will not tolerate that the freedom of a nationality, however obscure and small it may be, shall be sacrified for the selfish advantages of the stronger imperialistic nations, and we are confident that the Epirotes have demonstrated that they are fully worthy of their liberty, by having sacrificed tens of thousands of lives struggling for five hundred years, not only to save their national conscience but also to preserve their Christian religion.

Pouqueville bears witness to the superhuman struggles of the Epirotes to win freedom not only for themselves but also for the entire Greek race.

In his *Histoire de La Grèce,* Book I, page 2, he writes:

"I shall show how the Greeks" (and he speaks of the Epirotes also) "fallen from their splendor, subjugated by the Romans, whom they tamed, degraded under the Theologian Emperors, conquered by the Turks, whom they have failed to civilize, chafing unceasingly at their chains, ensnaring despotism in its own snares, came back to their heritage, and rose again to be a nation."

The Northern Epirotes are Greeks in every respect. The numerous testimonies of men who have visited Epirus

can leave no candid and just person unconvinced as to the real wishes of the large majority of the people of Northern Epirus.

We have not put forth arguments and theories, but facts which have been sustained by the writings of eminent and well recognized writers of all the civilized and disinterested European peoples, as well as of America.

It remains with the peoples of America, France and England to render justice to the Epirotes or to condemn them to the yoke of the Moslem state, of a semi-barbarous people.

"It is a travesty of justice," writes Mr. Toynbee in his *Greek Policies Since 1882,* "that a civilized and cultured people should be surrendered to the mercy of a primitive and wild people."

We are confident that the facts which have been gathered from numerous writers, and enumerated in this booklet will persuade the freedom-loving and justice-loving peoples of France, England, America, and Italy to grant the much desired freedom to the sorely tried people of Northern Epirus, by allowing it to unite with its motherland—Greece.

But should the Northern Epirotes be again deprived of their freedom, and made a sacrifice to the selfish interests of a great Power, they are determined to resist to the last of them.

What they did in 1914, they can repeat now. The Greek people can never rest until Epirus, from Preveza to the Acroceraunian Mountains, is included in Greece. The Powers may decide what they will. The Epirotes will demonstrate, if need be, once more that they value their liberties more than their lives.

That the Northern Epirotes are not Albanians; that the Albanians are not brothers to the Christian Epirotes; that the Epirotes hate the Albanians as their oppressors for five hundred years, that the Northern Epirotes cannot be secure under an Albanian domination, is very clearly seen

from the following quotation from the work of Mr. Toynbee:

"Then (1914) the Moslem Albanians rushed against the Christians and committed untold atrocities.

"The reoccupation of Epirus by Greek troops had become a matter of life and death for the Epirotes, and in October, 1914, Venizelos took the inevitable step, after serving due notice upon all the signatory Powers to the Treaty of London.

"No opposition or protest came against this action of Venizelos.

"The Reclamation of Epirus is the most honorable achievement of the Greek national revival."

We entrust our freedom, our lives and our homes to the justice of the peoples of America, England, France and Italy, and hope that a free Albania will not mean a subjugated Northern Epirus.

In any case, the Northern Epirotes organized into one Pan-Epirotic Union representing all the Epirotes in Epirus, in Greece, in Egypt and in America, will battle to the last to win their freedom, or perish, if the justice of the Allies suffers itself to be imposed upon by the unholy demands of the selfish and imperialistic interests of Great Powers.

"Indeed," writes Mr. René Puaux, "the Epirotes are more Greek than the Greeks themselves."

And Mr. Caillard, "The Epirotes from Valona to Preveza are Greeks in sentiment, culture, language and aspirations,—it is hoped that they will soon be Greeks also in name and be joined to their motherland,—Greece."

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55. The Mastery of the Adriatic—*Spectator*, January 22, 1916
56. Northern Epirus in 1913—By Colonel Murray, A.M., C.B., M.V.O.

57. Albania and Epirus—Hon. W. Pember Reeves
58. Artificial Frontiers in the Balkans—F. de Jessen (Anglo-Hellenic League)
59. Greece and the Epirus Rising—Anglo-Hellenic League
60. The Northern Epirotes—C. S. Butler, Manchester *Guardian*, September 30, 1914
61. A Plea for a Civilized Epirus—Hon. W. P. Reeves (Anglo-Hellenic League)
62. Affairs in Albania—*Morning Post*, January 7, 1914
63. The Situation in Southern Albania—*Westminster Gazette*, Jan. 8, 1918
64. Hellas and the Balkan Wars—D. J. Cassavetti
65. Boston *Evening Transcript*, April 12, 1912
66. New Europe—Arnold Toynbee
67. La Malheureuse Épire—René Puaux
68. Douze Ans de Propagande en Faveur des Pays Balkaniques —André Chéradame

APPENDIX A

Lecture Delivered by Colonel Murray, A.M., C.B., M.V.O., in Morley Hall, January 7, 1913, Entitled "Northern Epirus in 1913"

Colonel Murray said:—"Mr. Pember Reeves, ladies and gentlemen,—My claim to the honorable task of addressing you on the subject chosen for this lecture is based on nothing more than a ten week's tour through Epirus, extending, as you will see from this map, from Korytsa on the north to Himara on the coast of the Adriatic Sea. But, ladies and gentlemen, if you will bear with me for a short time, I think I can, at any rate, promise to tell you the truth about Epirus, and this will come not from a mere student, but from an eye-witness of what is going on in a district of Europe which is a terra incognita to most English people, and even to many Greeks; and possibly, for this reason, my few remarks, however crude, dull and tamely expressed, may have some small use, for a great deal has been lately talked and written about Epirus which is the reverse of truthful, and which, on this account, has done incalculable harm in misdirecting the public mind, by holding up to view a false and misleading picture of facts as they actually exist and as I hope to describe them this evening.

"Romance and fiction, ladies and gentlemen, when rightly made use of, have a high and honorable place in the world of letters for they help to stimulate the imagination and inspire healthy thoughts in the minds of the young. But they are out of place, and have only a degrading influence when used, as they lately have been, by those who ought to know better, sometimes ignorantly to deceive the public and prejudice a brave and virtuous people by the dissemination of mendacious calumnies which, if they were as true as they are false, would dishonor the Greek Govern-

ment, the Greek nation and the Greek army in the eyes of Europe. I am referring to those charges lately made by an English member of Parliament through the medium of an English newspaper, charges which I declare to you are absolutely false, and which, though ignorantly brought forward, are so serious that I feel sure all right-thinking people will agree with me in saying that they should not have been made without previous verification. I don't propose to take up your time by going into these charges in detail, but I may say that when I was at Argyrocastro and Tepeleni a few weeks ago, I talked and dined with some of the so-called Mussulman notables alleged to have been put to death or imprisoned, or maltreated while the names of other murdered and tortured persons could not be traced at all. You may take my word for it that the whole of the charges brought against the Greek Government and the Greek Army are fictitious from beginning to end. During the course of my tour I made it an object to inquire of the Mussulman population of Epirus if they had any complaints against the Greek authorities, and I only heard one. A peasant at the village of Gustovitza said he had lost a dog which he was certain a Greek soldier had stolen, but he had no evidence to support his charge. As to Mussulmans being cut to pieces, tortured, and so on, the charges are as ridiculous as they are groundless. I hope we shall hear no more of them, but if we do I think we shall do right to treat them with the contempt, scorn and ridicule with which they have been treated by every man in the street in every village in Epirus—which they certainly deserve.

"The party of foreign Press representatives with whom I was associated during the tour in Epirus consisted of M. Franz de Jessen, correspondent of the *Temps*, M. Blessas, of the *Figaro*, Herr Tschentcher, of the Berlin *Central Press*, and myself. We were occasionally joined by gentlemen representing Greek newspapers, and for a short time by Captain Trapman, War Correspondent of *The Daily Telegraph;* but the four I have named remained to-

gether throughout the tour, seeing always eye to eye, and working with the common purpose of finding out the truth. We made it an object to follow the International Commissioners, keeping them always in sight, and accompanying them when they paid visits to the villages. But as you are probably aware, these visits soon came to an end on account of divisions among the Commissioners, and for several weeks the Commission was marking time at Hersega and Liascovitch, while the Powers were considering what instructions to send them. Whilst they were waiting we were not idle, but went over by ourselves ground which, at one time, we hoped to traverse in company with the Commissioners, but which, under superior orders, was eventually dropped out of their programme.

"Now, perhaps, you would like me to say a few introductory words about the Commissioners who were appointed to delimit the frontier. England was represented by Lieutenant-Colonel Doughty-Wylie, C.N.G., lately Consul at Adana, and now holding the same position at Addis Ababa. He was assisted by Captain King, R. E., for topographical work. Lieutenant-Colonel Lallemand, of the French Artillery, and M. Krayer, Vice Consul at Volo, were the French delegates. Colonel Gouten, Russian military attaché at Athens, represented the Russian Government. The German delegate was Lieutenant-Colonel Tierry, of the General Staff, Austria-Hungary being represented by Herr Bilinski, and Herr Buchberger, who held the posts respectively of Consul-General and Vice Consul at Jannina until the capture of that place by His Majesty King Constantine. Signor Labia, late Italian Consul at Jannina, was the Italian representative, and was assisted by Captain Castoldi, who had formerly been in the Turkish service as a gendarme officer, or something of the kind.

"There is not a great deal to be said about these gentlemen or their work, and if there were it would be only wasting your time to talk about it. For they began to disagree

among themselves almost from the first day they met together at Monastir, and when they referred their differences to their Governments the reference led to so much discussion that Sir Edward Grey determined to end matters by proposing a frontier of his own, which runs in a northeasterly direction from Cape Styles, to where it meets the Servian frontier at Lake Ochrida. This frontier, as proposed by England, has been accepted by the Powers, and has now been delimited in detail by the Commissioners, who completed their work on the 18th December last, and have presumably returned to their respective countries. Ladies and gentlemen, I have no desire to hold up the Commissioners to ridicule, for it was not their fault, but the fault of the great Powers of Europe, that they were put into a ridiculous position, which only came to an end when Sir Edward Grey took matters out of their hands into his own. Their instructions were to go over the country lying between the frontier claimed by Greece, and the frontier proposed by Italy (which is very nearly identical with that now approved by the Powers) and find out whether the inhabitants were Greeks or Albanians. But they were forbidden to receive any addresses or deputations, or make any inquiries, except about the language spoken by the people. And, as everyone knows what language the Epirotes speak—an Albanian patois at home, and the Greek language outside home—the Commissioners' inquiries were useless, and had no determining effect one way or the other in regard to the nationality of the people. What added to the absurdity of the position was that only two members of the Commission could speak either Greek or Albanian, and one of these, Herr Bilinski, was too ill to leave his house, while the other, Captain Castoldi, made so many mistakes in translating answers that the Commissioners lost all faith in him as interpreter, and decided to ask for further instructions from their Governments, with the result I have already mentioned.

"Having introduced you to the dramatis personæ of the

drama which is now beginning to be enacted in Epirus, let us come closer with the subject of this lecture. Who are the Epirotes? When I was in Epirus I consulted no book, but just went and asked the people straight out who they were. Over and over again I put this question to them: Who are you? Are you Greek or Albanian? And whether it came from men, women, boys or girls, the answer was always the same, 'We are Greek, and we intend to remain Greek.' When I questioned ladies about their nationality there was no mistake about the spontaneous sincerity of their opinions, which they expressed in militant language quite as forcible as that used by English suffragettes when they are on the warpath in search of the franchise. Nor were the two venerable archbishops, whose portraits I show on the screen, less decided in their opinion. 'Other people,' I quote the words of one of the Archbishops, 'may call us what they like, but surely we ought to know ourselves who we are better than Mr. Aubrey Herbert, or Mr. Bourchier, or Mr. Brailsford, or Faik Bey. It is no good calling us by a name which doesn't belong to us, and which we don't want to bear. Make no mistake, please, we are not going to be Albanians at any price, and if the Powers try to change our nationality by handing us over to Albania, I know that our people will resist with all the force at their disposal, and the Greek Government will be powerless to restrain them.' This is typical of every answer I got to my questions, and there never was the slightest hesitation about the nature of the reply. Nor was this view of nationality confined to the Christian population of Epirus, for I found the same feeling prevalent among all the Mussulmans whom I consulted—and I purposely consulted many, because I was anxious to ascertain their opinion and wishes about their future. I was surprised with the result of my inquiries. At all interviews I made a point of taking notes of the conversation, and here are some of the answers which I received. I find the Mayor of Koritza, Ahmed Effendi, who is a Mussulman,

spoke as follows: 'We Mussulmans of Koritza come from the same original stock as our Christian townsmen, and we intend to stand alongside of them now at this crisis. I am quite sincere, and speak from my heart, when I say that all the Mussulmans of this district are perfectly content with Greek rule, and wish to see it permanently established here.' Then I paid a surprise visit to the Mufti, who was not an Epirote but a Turk from Thrace, and he said much the same as the mayor. 'We are all very happy now under Greek rule, our religion is respected, and our rights observed. We want to be Greek citizens, for the Greek Government has treated us with all possible consideration, and I have not the same confidence in any government which may be set up in Albania.' Leaving the town of Koritza I rode out into some of the Mussulman villages in the neighborhood and found the same desire for union with Greece. This is what the three head men of the Mussulman village of Gratza said when I asked them if they wanted the Turks back again: 'No, we are Greeks now, and shall fight for our Greek brothers to keep our independence.' Going on to Cipani, another Mussulman village, the Mukhta, Suliman Bey, was still more emphatic. This is what he said: 'King Constantine is now our Sultan, and under his rule we are happier than we have ever been before. We want to be left alone.' At Hersoga, the capital of Colonia, a Mussulman deputation presented an address to the Commissioners, the following being a translation of the document: 'The undersigned representatives of the Mussulman community of the Caza of Colonia take the opportunity of the presence of the International Commission in their district to convey to the Commissioners their recognition of the freedom which they enjoy under the new régime in all that concerns their religion and their customs, as well as the absolute security which they now have for life and property. They have the honor to declare that they are now in possession of full liberty, that the Greek Army behaves towards the population in a

brotherly manner, and that their interests are firmly bound up with Greece, with which country they desire to be united.' This petition was signed by forty head men of twenty-five Mussulman villages of Colonia.

"To verify what was said in this address I paid a visit to Dalian Bey, the leading Mussulman Bey and largest landowner in Colonia, who lives at Kief Zazi, about four hours from Hersega, and he corroborated every word of the address. Dalian Bey is an old man of eighty years of age, and he assured me that for the first time in his long life he knew what it was to live in peace and security. 'The brigands,' he said, 'who infested this country have all disappeared and gone back to their homes in Albania. We are now happy and contented under Greek rule. All we want is to be left to ourselves.'

"Let me show you the portrait of Haidar Bey Russi, the Mussulman Mayor of Liascovitch, wearing the Greek colors. He performs his duties as mayor for no remuneration. Colonel Doughty-Wylie was his guest while at Liascovitch, and found him an intelligent and hospitable host. These are his words when I talked with him. 'The Mussulmans and Christians of Liascovitch live like brothers together, and we are all quite happy now under Greek rule. I am on the town committee of defence, and, if necessary, I and my sons will fight along with our Christian townsmen for union with Greeee. I know our town is behindhand in progress, but we have never had a chance of progressing under the Turkish Government, and now we must go ahead and develop on modern lines.' Tefik Bey, another Liascovitch landowner, and a very wealthy man, went even further than this in his professions of attachment to the Greek Government. 'The Mussulmans even more than the Christians are thankful for the disappearance of Turkish rule and recognize all that the Greek Government is doing for them. Land is going up in value, and for the first time in my life I can visit my property without having to take an armed escort with me. I am a

Greek by descent, my ancestors having been converted to the Moslem faith by force when the Turks first came to Epirus. We are all Bekhtashis here, and the Sultan is nothing to us. We want political union with Greece; the Greeks understand us Mussulmans whereas the Slavs do not. The best thing for Epirus is to be joined to Greece. It is a natural result of the disappearance of the Turks, and any other arrangements will only be artificial, temporary and disturbing. Under the Turks we had to fortify our houses to protect them from brigands. Now we can pull down the walls.'

"From Liascovitch I went to Konica, and was greeted there by a deputation of Mussulman townsmen, who asked me to carry back their address to the Commissioners, begging for union with Greece. Passing now on to Jannina I there saw the Mussulman mayor of the town, and the Mufti, Fouat Effendi, and they both expressed themselves as being perfectly content with Greek rule. So also did Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Delvino, who called upon me while at Jannina, and with whom I had a long and interesting conversation. The Pasha is a Turk by descent, not an Epirote, but he has lived so long in Epirus that he has become more Epirote than the Epirotes. His is an interesting personality, for he is a Turk of the old school, and as such has a supreme contempt for the young Chauvinist Turks who have seized the reins of government in Constantinople. He was formerly an officer in the Turkish Army, and as A.D.C. to Sultan Abdul Aziz, came to England with him when he visited Queen Victoria in the early seventies. Afterwards he acquired property in Delvino, and has lived on it ever since his retirement from the public service. He told me what all other Mussulmans had said, that Greek government had brought peace and tranquillity to the country, and he hoped it had come to stay. As to Albania, his desire as a loyal Mussulman was to see a strong State created, but it should be confined to Albania, and no attempt should be made to encroach on Greek pre-

serves. I was much impressed with the Pasha's good sense and wide vision, and I hope when the Epirotes form their provisional government on the 18th January next that Mehemet Ali Pasha will be one of its members.

"If there were time I could tell you the same tale in every town and village I visited. At Argyrocastro, at Tepeleni, at Klissura, at Premeti, and in all the villages round these towns I found the same spirit of contentment, and the same desire for Greek union. One village in particular I must mention, that of Hormoven in the Drinos valley, about three hours out of Tepeleni. It used to be a Christian village till the time of Ali Pasha, who, applying the principles of the Koran in their literal sense, compelled the villagers to choose between Islamism or death. Hearing that a foreign traveller was passing through their village the whole of the men turned out, and the head man made an impromptu speech, saying the villagers were Greeks, not Albanians, and they wished to be united with their motherland. The visit was quite a surprise one; the speech was quite spontaneous, and no Greek officials were present.

"Ladies and gentlemen, I hope this and other evidence which I have brought before you this evening, and which, were there time, I could multiply ten-fold from data in my possession, will convince you, as it has convinced me, that the Epirotes are Greeks, not Albanians, and that when Mr. Bourchier and Mr. Aubrey Herbert call Epirus 'southern Albania,' they are calling it by a name which does not belong to it, and which the Epirotes disown as a libel on their nationality. I beg you will not misunderstand me. We Philhellenes have no quarrel with the Albanians, so long as the Albanians don't quarrel with us. We wish well to Albania, and we will do all we can to help its people to build up a free, progressive and civilized State if it is possible to do so, standing on its own feet, and independent of outside support. The new State shall have fair play. We will do as Mr. Aubrey Herbert wishes us

to do, and hold out the right hand of friendship. But there must be no poaching on Greek preserves, and Epirus is one of those preserves and intends to remain so. The Skumbi River is Albanian, but the Voyussa River is Greek. Ali Pasha of Tepeleni never went north of Valona, nor did Scander Bey ever come south of it. The Skumbi River is the natural ethnological boundary between Ghegs and Tosks, who in classic days were known as Illyrians and Pelasgi, and in modern days as Albanians and Greeks. Left to themselves the Albanians and Greeks would soon settle matters on an ethnological basis, but the question is unfortunately complicated by the officious interference of foreign propagandists and Albanian committees who, cuckoo-like, are encouraging the Albanians to lay claim to land which doesn't want them, and which doesn't belong to them. It is bad enough to break the tenth Commandment, but Mr. Aubrey Herbert breaks the ninth also when he bears false witness against the Greeks by accusing them of a 'policy of greed,' because, forsooth, they lay claim to property which always belonged to them till the Turks robbed them of it by force. If the Albanians listen to these law-breaking counsels then there is nothing left for the Epirotes but to cry 'hands off.'

"Now let us see what the great Powers of Europe, who have taken upon themselves the gratuitous duty of settling matters between the Greeks and Albanians, propose. The dotted line on the map is the answer to this question, and you will see that it splits Epirus into two unequal halves, the greater half going to Albania, the lesser half to Greece. Strategically this boundary line leaves Jannina *en l'air*, cutting it off from communication with the Adriatic Sea at Santi Quaranta, and with the Ægean Sea at Salonica. The great trunk road from Santi Quaranta to Korytza, running parallel to the new frontier is, with a small gap between Missoverfera and Delvaki, which can easily be filled with a new road, given to Albania. So is Tepeleni, the ancient gateway into Epirus, which dominates the ap-

proaches to the Jannina plain down the Voyussa River on the east, and the Drinos River on the west. With the central approaches from the northwest in the hands of the Albanians, and flanks also secured to them, a Greek army based on Jannina would be placed at an enormous strategical disadvantage at the opening of a campaign, so enormous that its offensive action would be hopelessly paralysed from the start. We have been told that Sir Edward Grey proposed this frontier as a compromise between a big Albania and a big Epirus, and that topographical considerations were alone taken into account in drawing the boundary line. This does not seem to be exactly the way to secure a scientific frontier. But, however that may be, the new boundary line places Jannina at the mercy of any foreign or Albanian force which would be concentrated before the declaration of war on the Upper Voyussa and Drinos Rivers, within easy striking distance of the Epirus capital. If Greece had been forced down on her knees after fighting an unsuccessful war, she could not have had harder terms offered for her acceptance. Under pressure from Europe the Greek Government may have, for the moment, to accept these terms officially, but government humiliation and national humiliation are not always synonymous terms. There is a force behind all governments which, in great national crises, can be relied on to assert its power in open defiance of constituted authority. That force is the will of the people. We Englishmen have sometimes taught our Government the strength of that force, and, if I mistake not, the Epirotes intend to teach the same lesson to Europe. If Governments propose, it is the people who dispose.

"Where the London Ambassadors' Conference made its initial blunder was in deciding last August to give Korytza to Albania, and make Cape Stylos the Adriatic starting point of the new frontier. This decision begged the whole question which the International Commission was appointed to investigate and prevented a boundary line being

drawn in accordance with local ethnological conditions. What has now been done is to continue the line from Mount Grammos, where the Ambassadors' Conference left it, and the quickest and nearest way of doing this was that proposed by a stroke of Sir Edward Grey's pen, and now accepted by the Powers. The frontier as agreed meets Italian objections to the Greeks having command of the Straits of Corfu, and Austrian objections to Albania being cut off from direct access to Macedonia through Korytza. But it ignores the principle of nationality, and sets at defiance the wishes of the people. Ladies and gentlemen, the days for artificial frontiers have passed away. Racial instinct is stronger than strategical necessity. Education has opened the minds of men and women to possibilities which never occurred to them as such before they learned to think and were taught to organize. The schoolmaster is abroad in Epirus as elsewhere. It is impossible to live among the Epirotes as I have done for ten weeks without realizing the strength of their will and the courage of their hearts. What impressed me more than anything else in the tour was the spirit shown by the Epirote women, who are more determined even than the men, if that were possible, to keep their Greek nationality. This is one of the healthiest and most optimistic factors of the situation, for when women are brave men will be brave too. There is nothing a man prizes higher than the applause of a good woman, or fears more than her blame. When he has no other motive he will fight for her sake, and die rather than return to her beaten and disgraced in her eye. Look at this picture of two young ladies of the upper class of Epirote society, smiling, happy, joyful, because they know that in front of them are standing men with whom their honor is in safe keeping, and who will fight to the death sooner than allow them to become national apostates. Here is a picture of three peasant women of Himara, strong, determined, unyielding, loving life, but not fearing death which, in their eyes, is preferable to dishonor. And

for an Epirote woman, loss of nationality means loss of honor, so deep and firmly is the ancient Hellenic spirit rooted in their hearts.

"I know nothing more touching than to see these village people of Epirus revelling in the freedom which has come to them at last, after five centuries of slavery and oppression. They simply cannot leave off dancing and singing for joy, which is all so hearty, simple and spontaneous, that the stranger catches up their spirit of thankfulness, and instinctively thanks Almighty God in his heart that the awful, desolating, abominable curse of Turkish rule has disappeared from the land. I shall never forget standing at Korytza, side by side with one of the International Commissioners, who shall be nameless, and who was watching the scene passing in the street below us. A procession was going by the house in the midst of which were the girls of the school, waving their flags and singing national songs of liberty, when one girl stopped before the house and held up a scroll on which she had embroidered with great labor in letters of gold the words, 'Enosis e Thanatos,' Union or Death. She just held up the scroll for us to see, and I never can forget the sweet, gentle, upturned face, majestic in its childishness, and beautiful in its innocence, and yet expressive of her brave determination to suffer, if required to do so, for hearth and home and nationality and faith. I could see the tears stand in the diplomatist's eyes as he turned away with the words, 'I can stand this no longer. If I look any more I shall break down and be accused of being a Philhellene.' Even diplomacy has its human side.

"I think you will gather from what I said this evening that the Epirotes won't consent, on any consideration, to become Albanians, and if the Powers try to coerce them they will resist. What chances have they of success? From what I have seen of the men and of their country, I am inclined to be very optimistic. In every town and village throughout Epirus a branch of the Epirote volun-

teer force, known as the Sacred Legion, has been formed, numbers varying locally according to the population. I do not exactly know the total strength of this force, but I should put it down as over 40,000 men at this moment, with numbers daily increasing. The Sacred Legion of North Epirus is a *levée en masse* of the whole countryside. I have seen boys of fourteen and fifteen standing in the ranks with men of fifty and sixty. The priest of the village is always present whenever there is a parade of the volunteers. The Greek Orthodox Church is a church militant, and its priests are as good fighters as any of the lay members of the Sacred Legion. The Premeti and Argyrocastro battalions are composed of as fine a body of fighting men as there are in Europe.

"As previously pointed out, the Tepeleni-Klissura position in the center section of the frontier is one of great strategical importance and tactical strength, and if Colonel Joanno, who now commands at Argyrocastro, and was chief of staff to General Sapundzaki in the advance on Jannina, resigns his commission in the Greek Army and takes command of the Epirote forces at this point, I don't think any force which the Albanian Government could put into the field, even with the help of better officers, would break through the line of defence. The position could be held with a comparatively small force, while the bulk of the men in the Drinos Valley could be sent to Himara to give a hand to Spirimilos. The northern section of the frontier is the most secure on account of its distance from the sea, its propinquity to the Servian frontier, and its inaccessibility from the west. There are five thousand well-trained men of the Sacred Legion in the Korytza district alone, and even if they get no help from other parts of Epirus, they are numerous and strong enough, with their local knowledge of the country, to hold their own against any Albanian force which could reach them from Berat. A foreign force, if it came in great strength, might succeed in reaching the district, but not till after the inter-

vening country between it and the sea had been subjugated, and when this force reached Korytza it would only be to find its houses burned to the ground and the whole land laid waste by the inhabitants. We may depend upon it that if the Epirotes are forced to fight they will fight to a finish. Colonel Contoulis is the Greek Governor of Korytza, and a man of great administrative ability as well as a brave soldier. I asked him what he would do if the Greek Government withdrew from Korytza and the Albanians attacked it. He said as long as he was a Greek officer he could not answer my question, but I might take it from him that as he had been a fighting man all his life, he was not likely to be far away if Korytza was threatened by any foreign enemy.

"Are these facts known to the great Powers of Europe, or, knowing them, do they intend to force their decision in defiance of the will of the people? If they do, then what will become of the principle of nationality which was the *raison d'être* for ordering the Montenegrins out of Scutari, and the Servians out of Durazzo? 'The principle of nationality,' said the Marquis de San Giuliano, the other day, 'is the glory and strength of Italy.' So it is. But how can Italy justify and logically deny to others what is a glory and strength to herself? Unless wiser counsels prevail, this is the rock on which the Concert of Europe will split, and this is why I think we can be optimists in regard to Epirus. The Epirotes have their future in their own hands, because they know their duty and intend to do it. They are confident because they are strong, and they are strong because they are right. That England, the England of Canning, of Byron, and of Gladstone should either by her own action, or by giving a mandate to others, help to shoot down people 'rightly struggling to be free' is unthinkable. England is strong enough to carry France and Russia with her if, indeed, any persuasion were necessary. Will Austria authorise Italy to act alone? I think not. Will Italy act without a mandate either from

Europe or her allies? I think not. For if she were to break away from the Concert of Europe and play for her own hand, she would stand on perilous ground and provoke a resistance which it might not be possible to localise in Epirus. In any case, the Epirotes' course is clear, to keep the flag flying, no matter who tries to haul it down, relying always on the justice of their cause, on the moral sympathy of all right thinking people, and, above all, on the strength of their own arms. *Beati possidentes.*"

APPENDIX B

Communication of Mr. C. S. Butler to the "Manchester Guardian" on September 30th, 1914, on Northern Epirus

"I have read in the *Guardian* of July 22nd of shocking atrocities alleged to have been committed against Albanians by Epirotes. Having served as a British war-correspondent both in Macedonia and Epirus in 1912 and 1913, I feel constrained in the interests of truth to rebut these charges, which are either wholly untrue, or grossly exaggerated. Mr. Aubrey Herbert is a brave and honorable man, and I quite believe that he and that plucky English lady, Miss Edith Durham, spread these tales in perfect good faith, on the strength of the testimony of Albanian refugees and residents at Valona and Durazzo. But they make a very great mistake in launching these horrors in the British press without having verified them by a visit to the locality itself. I happen to know that Mr. Herbert has repeatedly been invited to visit the Epirote borderland, in which these atrocities are alleged to have been committed, but he has not gone. Miss Durham has apparently only made one hurried visit to Korytza since the journey which forms the subject of her well-known little book, and on which, to judge from that same book, she succeeded in traveling the northern fringe of Epirus without coming in contact with a single Greek inhabitant! Is it fair, then, to condemn the Epirotes unheard, when nothing would have been easier than to verify the truth of the astounding tales related in the Manchester *Guardian* and brought up in the House of Lords on July 28th?

"To take up the various allegations *seriatim:* It is wholly and absolutely untrue to say that 'Greece is carry-

ing out her deliberate plan of destroying and evicting the Albanian population (of N. Epirus) with a view to annexing the land,' and that 'the Greek army' has invaded the land of the refugees now crowded in Avlona. In the first place, Greece is at present completely outside of N. Epirus, which she evacuated last February; she has neither troops nor officials in that district, now or at any time since the date of that evacuation. The author therefore of these statements can only mean to say that Greek troops and officials are working along the lines he indicates in a secret and unofficial manner. That the Greek army, officers and soldiers, are to a man in keen sympathy with the Epirotes is a well known fact. It is also well known that a small number of Greek officers (not exceeding 30), most of them natives of N. Epirus, have deserted to the Epirote camp with perhaps a couple of hundred of the rank and file. In one case a half-battery of machine guns, commanded by a lieutenant of Epirote origin, when the evacuation of Liaskoviki was ordered by the Greek Government, bolted into the nearest mountains and joined the Epirote insurgents. It is also true that Cretan volunteers, to a total of about 300, found their way to Northern Epirus, mostly in small sailing vessels. A small band of Greek 'Garibaldians' was also equipped by the late Count Roma and took part in the fighting on the Argyrocastro frontier. That is the sum total of outside help that the Epirotes have received from any part of Greece, and that in direct defiance of the orders and well defined policy of the Greek government, which proceeded to extremes that no Greek Government has ever yet dared to apply in opposing what was unmistakably the popular will. To begin with, the Greek troops, in evacuating N. Epirus, were careful to take with them all the army stores, guns, ammunition, etc. Even the Turkish guns captured at Korytsa and Argyrocastro during the Balkan War, which could easily have been 'overlooked' were carried away; and at Georgoutsates, the junction of the Argyrocastro-Delvino-Jannina

routes, the Greek troops actually fired upon a party of Epirotes who attempted to prevent the transfer of the military stores thence, and killed seven and wounded thirty, including two women. That does not look much like connivance; and yet the firing party were distinctly in sympathy with the Epirotes and only obeyed orders. The Greek officers and privates who deserted to the Epirotes have been proclaimed deserters and stricken from the roster; a company of Evzones, who with their captain and non-coms, broke away and started to join the Epirotes, were rounded up and sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

"More than this, Mr. Venizelos, with his characteristic vehemence, did all he could to discourage and browbeat the Epirote insurrection against Europe's fiat; and in the Greek Chamber publicly predicted disaster for their undertaking—a prediction which has proved utterly mistaken. He even went so far as to lay hands upon and turn to the use of the Greek Government a donation of £10,000 sent by a rich Epirote of America for the insurgent cause —a thing that, strictly speaking, the Greek Premier had no right to do—and the writer, in the Greek Foreign Office, was an unwitting auditor of a violent altercation between Mr. Venizelos and Mr. Zographos, in which the latter was told in so many words that official Greece considered him well nigh a traitor to the interests of Greece because he had placed himself at the head of the Epirote insurrection. Again, only the other day a cadet of the Military School at Athens, named Zoupas, a native of Chimara, who six months ago deserted to go and fight for his native land against the Albanians, was there severely wounded and is now just out of hospital, has been refused readmittance to the school and thus has forfeited his military career.

"I could mention other similar cases; but the foregoing suffice to show how absurd it is to say that official Greece has in any way abetted the Epirote insurrection. On the

contrary, Mr. Venizelos has sacrificed no small portion of his popularity in his attempts to forestall that movement and after its outbreak to cut it off from all material aid. If he has not succeeded, it is certainly not his fault.

"The armed forces, which the Epirotes have disposed of in this insurrection, are, with the exceptions enumerated above, entirely native—Hierolochitæ, or local militia, organized originally by the Greek Government to serve as a local gendarmerie, before there was any question of giving up N. Epirus. This militia adopted a khaki uniform very similar to that of the Greek infantry; hence the tale, which recently went forth, that Korytsa was retaken by Greek regulars.

"The non-Epirote bands have now been disbanded by Mr. Zographos, because they were elements of danger rather than of strength to the Autonomous administration and, it must be admitted, often got out of hand. But why should Greeks and Cretans have any less right to go to the aid of their kinsmen of Epirus than the Italian, Austrian, Turkish, Rumanian and even Bulgarian volunteers (I do not wish to say adventurers) who joined the Albanian ranks by the hundreds? We have seen no sarcasms in the British press against the participation of these latter elements in a quarrel which did not in the least concern them. Europe looked on complacently enough while dozens of Turkish officers (not Albanians) enlisted openly in the Albanian forces against the Epirotes. By a strange irony of fate, it is these same Turks that have led the Albanian Mussulman insurgents to victory against Prince Wied and the various authorities set up by Europe in Albania, and are now threatening to re-establish the blighting Moslem rule in a country from whence it had been swept by the Balkan War.

"Then as to the 'atrocities.' That dozens of villages in N. Epirus are today in ashes is a melancholy fact. That much blood has been shed, solely because Europe (or rather let us say, Austria and Italy) insisted upon forcibly an-

nexing the Epirotes to Albania, is no less indisputable. But all foreign correspondents who have personally visited Epirus within the past months, know nothing of these wholesale massacres of women and children which Avlona has been so busily reporting to foreign lands. There has been much cruelty in the fighting between Epirotes and Albanians. All wars are cruel and Balkan wars exceptionally so, owing to the long standing racial hatreds and the demoralizing influence of centuries of Turkish rule, which has never been anything but the most fiendish cruelty the world has perhaps known.

"But certain facts must be borne in mind and insisted upon: First, that the villages destroyed have been destroyed in battle—some of them taken and re-taken in the fiercest fighting, when the wildest human passions are unchained. Secondly, that a tabulation of these destroyed villages shows a larger proportion of Christian than of Mussulman losses. And in making this statement, I do not include the many Christian villages of the Zagori district, which were wantonly destroyed by the Mussulman Albanians during the Balkan War, long before the fall of Jannina. In fact, village burning and looting has been a favorite occupation of the Albanians (the Mussulmans, of course, since the Christians were then little better than slaves) in Epirus since before Ali Pasha's days; a noteworthy example is the sack of Moschopolis in 1770 and Argyrocastro in 1771, when the population of these Christian towns was driven out *en masse*. And thus a heritage of hate has been handed down from generation to generation, of which tourists like Miss Durham and Mr. Aubrey Herbert know nothing. Thirdly, that the Epirotes of Northern Epirus have been on the defensive and the Albanians on the offensive, ever since Europe issued her final decision that N. Epirus was to go to Albania. The Albanians began massing on the borderline long before the Greek evacuation, in order to 'rush' the ceded territory; and from the moment of that evacuation they have kept

up an unceasing succession of onslaughts upon the Epirote positions, in many places forcing the Epirotes back step by step, until it seemed their defence would be completely broken down. Kodra and Humelitsa, where it is alleged that the Epirotes 'crucified' some Mussulmans (though no one in Epirus or in Greece ever heard of crucifixion before as a means of revenge, especially as applied by Christians to Moslems, while there have been many such cases, as applied by Moslems to Christians, during the Greek War of Independence), are two villages on the Argyrocastro border, which were taken and re-taken at the bayonet's point four times by Albanians and Epirotes. Is it surprising that such villages should be today a heap of ashes, and that some acts of savagery should have been committed by either side? And if the Moslem villages of the Kolonia and Frasseri districts suffered heavily in the fighting, the Christian villages of the Delvino district, almost down to Santi Quaranta, can tell an equally distressing tale of the sudden inroad of the Albanians in April last, while the Christian villages of the upper Devol valley (east of Korytsa) were nearly wiped out by the Albanian regulars, whom their Dutch officers found themselves powerless to restrain.

"The British public are harrowed by pictures of the distress of the Albanian refugees crowded together in Avlona; and no doubt that distress is very real and worthy of every effort at alleviation. But nothing is said of the 20,000 refugees from the Delvino district, who were until quite recently huddled together at Corfu, nor of the 32,000 refugees who crowded into the Greek lines within three days from the Argyrocastro and Premeti districts upon the big Albanian onslaught in April last, nor yet of the 12,000 refugees from the Korytsa district at Biglista, Pisoderi and Castoria. Who will undertake to say that the misery and destitution of these Christian refugees is a whit less distressing than that of the Moslems at Avlona?

"The friends and 'protectors' of Albania have been

busily sowing the wind, and now make loud outcry upon finding that they, or rather the unhappy land itself, is reaping the whirlwind. The attempt to coerce the Epirotes into subjection and annexation to Albania was the first and fundamental wrong, which has brought all these sufferings upon Epirotes and Albanians. For, in spite of Mr. Aubrey Herbert and Miss Durham, in defiance of the brute force brought to bear upon N. Epirus and upon Greece by Europe, Epirus is not Albanian but Greek, and every succeeding month only brings this fact out more clearly.

"I have been over the whole country from Monastir to Santi Quaranta and from Argyrocastro to Jannina, with an eye to this question in particular. And if some allowance must be made for the unwillingness of the Moslem minority to speak out its true thoughts in the presence of the Epirote authorities, still the schools, if nothing else, are enough to convince any fair minded observer that the Epirotes are Greeks, even if their women speak Albanian in their homes. At Korytsa where my visit coincided with that of the Greek Crown Prince in May of last year, I witnessed a parade of 2,125 Greek school children of both sexes, from five years up to sixteen, who beamed with joy and pride as they filed past the Prince cheering and waving their little Greek flags. The same day I witnessed an enthusiastic parade of the women of the town, foremost among whom I noticed my own hostess, who habitually speaks Albanian in her own home. I find it hard to believe that these 1900 women, all of whom were respectable middle-class matrons, were secretly pining for the delights of Albanian rule and were driven to this demonstration at the point of the Greek bayonet. Indeed, I can testify to the fact that it almost required the bayonet to persuade them to disperse after the celebration! And yet we have been assured for years, by Miss Durham and other Albanian sympathisers, that Korytsa is the intellectual and educational center of the Albanian race! The only traces of an

Albanian educational movement I was able to discover there were a small Albanian printing press, established under foreign encouragement some years ago and now no longer in operation, and an Albanian school for girls, founded and carried on by American missionaries, with some 60 pupils, recruited from the whole province of Korytsa.

"I am not a Greek and am certainly not unfriendly with the Albanians and their legitimate aspirations. But I have more than once, in my conversations with Albanians even before the Balkan War, been impressed with their boundless nationalistic ambitions. They would, if they could, have claimed not only N. Macedonia, where they are really strong, but also N. and S. Epirus down to the Ambracian Gulf, Monastir, Castoria, Verria and some even Salonica! It is a well known fact that in 1880 Jannina and Korytsa were lopped off from the territory awarded to Greece by the Berlin Treaty, chiefly through the efforts of the Albanian League in Italy. So today their sympathizers claim Korytsa and N. Epirus for Albania on the ground that the women speak Albanian (it is not disputed that the men and children speak also Greek). Yet it is not difficult to show that the language test is an absurd one. Amongst the most fanatical Greek-haters are the Mussulmans of Crete and of Margariti (in S. Epirus); yet their only language is Greek and they are undoubtedly Greek in origin. But to classify them as Greeks would be unfair and would arouse their vehement resentment. Again, the hundreds of thousands of Greeks of Cappadocia and Cilicia, who speak nothing but Turkish, cannot be classified as Turks, nor the Pomaks of Thrace, whose language is Bulgarian, as Bulgars. And on the other hand it must not be overlooked that, if in N. Epirus the home language is largely Albanian, the written and commercial language is, and always has been, Greek, even under Turkish rule. Even the most fanatical Albanian traders keep their accounts in Greek. At Argyrocastro

I was much impressed to see that the notables of Libochovo, a fanatical Moslem stronghold across the valley, sign their names habitually in Greek. All the extant letters, decrees and orders of Ali Pasha, who certainly could not be accused of favoring the Greeks, are in Greek; which clearly prove two things: That Greek was the only written language used in Epirus in his day, and that it must have been generally understood and spoken by the people of Epirus.

"It is not the language, therefore, but the sentiment of a people that determines its national character. And N. Epirus has for many generations expressed its national sentiment with no uncertain sound. To pass over the flourishing Greek institutions of learning at Jannina in the 17th and 18th centuries, which kept alive Greek letters and Greek aspirations in those dark days and which were supported entirely by the voluntary contributions of Epirotes, and coming down to the present age, Athens is full of splendid public buildings, gifts of Northern Epirotes. The magnificent Academy of Fine Arts and Astronomical Observatory were given by Sinas of Moschopolis (near Korytsa). Bangas, of Korytsa, left a building worth £20,000 as a bequest to the Greek Navy Fund. The Zappa brothers who endowed Athens with her Exposition grounds and Constantinople with her biggest Greek High School for Girls, hailed from Lambovo, north of Argyrocastro. Zographos, the father of the President of the Epirote Government, founder of a large Greek school at Constantinople and of the Prize Fund for the Encouragement of Greek Studies at Paris, was a native of Droviani. Averoff, the donor of the Greek battleship bearing his name and of the splendid Panathenaic Stadium, and Tositsa and Stournara, who endowed Athens with its fine Polytechnic School, were natives of Metsovo. I pass over a long list of lesser patriotic gifts and endowments by Epirotes to Greece or for patriotic Greek aims.

"That the Epirotes are not Albanians but Greeks is now

admitted, not only by all who visit their land, but by the very same Great Powers that tore them from their natural mother a year ago. The very fact that the International Control Commission of Albania proposed and carried on the recent negotiations with the Epirote Revolutionary Government, which resulted in the Protocol of Corfu in May last, is practically an admission on the part of Europe that the Epirotes are not Albanians and that the decision to annex them to Albania was purely and simply an act of injustice and temerity which had to be revised. The subsequent act of the Great Powers, in officially notifying the Greek Government that they had accepted and ratified the Corfu Protocol, was a distinct recognition of the special interest of Greece in N. Epirus; it is also noteworthy that in that notification the Powers style the population of the debated land 'Epirotes' and not as heretofore 'Southern Albanians.'

"This tardy recognition of the true situation in N. Epirus is due solely to the self-sacrifice and devotion of the Epirotes themselves to their national aspirations—to the gallant and bloody resistance they offered in defence of their right to shape their own political destinies. That much suffering resulted to both sides in the course of this resistance was but natural. That excesses were committed by both sides in the heat of the conflict is a sad fact, but a fact that only dreamers and ignorant Utopians could be surprised at—a fact, in fine, whose counterpart is to be found in the history of every people and of every age. And I cannot but consider it as smacking of hypocrisy to raise an outcry against the Epirotes on this score, while ignoring the corresponding wrongs on the part of their enemies, the flagrant provocation in the shameless violation of their divine right to decide their own destinies, and last, but not least, the centuries of inherited passions which the blight of Turkish rule engendered and grafted upon the two kindred races which meet on the borders of Albania and Epirus.

"Again I say, that the tales of Epirote 'atrocities' palmed off by Avlona refugees upon unsuspecting Englishmen and Englishwomen must be heavily discounted, and that whatever residuum of truth may be found at the bottom of these reports (which are as yet unconfirmed by any reliable and impartial eye-witnesses) is due to the heat of conflict, to the memories of long-standing wrongs and to the just wrath of the Epirotes at being bartered like cattle. If anyone is to blame, it is chiefly and foremost the Great Powers of Europe, that deliberately sacrificed the rights of the Epirotes to their own selfish interests and jealousies, and to their fear of international complications. And it is, perhaps, a piece of Divine retribution that those very complications have not been long in overtaking them."

APPENDIX C

Communication to the "Daily Chronicle" of April 7, 1914, by Mr. Z. D. Ferriman, Author of "Home Life in Hellas" and "Turkey and the Turks"

"Argyrocastro, March 27.

" 'I am Secretary to the Minister of War,' said a young man in uniform. Another referred to M. Zographos as the Prime Minister. When I saw M. Karapanos, who has been designated as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, he said, 'Call us an Executive Committee acting as a Provisional Government. We do not pretend to hold portfolios or aspire to Cabinet rank. I am deputed to take charge of our relations with the world outside because I have been 15 years in the Diplomatic Service and am familiar with the work. No, I was not brought up in England; but it is the first tongue I learned to speak.' This, in reply to a question prompted by his perfect command of English: 'I am an Epirote born, and Deputy in the Greek Chamber for a division in Southern Epirus, which has long been ours.'

"I remembered having lived in Constantinople close to a large high school called the Zographion, and I asked M. Zographos if the name had any relation to his family. 'My father founded it,' he said. 'He was born in that village yonder,' and he pointed to a speck, twinkling 'like a grain of salt' high on the slope of the mountain which walls in the Drinos Valley eastward. Then I knew I was speaking to the son of Christaki Effendi Zographos, whose name is a household word in Constantinople. The Zographion is one of many benefactions. Not a few men who

have risen to distinction owe their studies in Europe to his generosity. I did not know before that he was an Epirote; but the fact explained to me why his son had taken up the cause."

The "Cabinet" of Epirus

"Colonel Doulis, who has charge of the Military Department and commands the forces, was born at Nivitza, in the Chimara district. He went through both the Macedonian and Epirus campaigns, was wounded at Bizani, and distinguished himself by his bravery. The Metropolitan of Argyrocastro, Vasilios, was born at Labano, a mountain village a few miles north of this. He studied at the famous Theological College on the Isle of Halki, near Constantinople, was Professor at the Gymnasium of Serres, then at Adrianople, then Bishop of Daphnorissia, and successively Metropolitan of Paramythia, Avlona, and Argyrocastro, whither he came in 1909. He has charge of the Department of Religion and Justice.

"The Metropolitan of Konitza, who has an intimate knowledge of the country and its inhabitants, has been appointed to the direction of Home Affairs. This is the composition of what the inhabitants of Argyrocastro delight to consider the "Cabinet" of Epirus and a Government it undoubtedly is, for no other authority exists.

We are nominally in the new principality of Albania, which extends to the Greek frontier, the nearest point of which is at Yorgotsatis, some 12 miles south. But, as a matter of fact, we are an autonomous State, bounded on the south by the Greek frontier, and on the north by an indeterminate limit extending as far as the military zone, which includes posts at Leskoviko and Premeti. It runs down to the sea at Santi-Quaranta, where we are blockaded by the Greek fleet, and follows the coast as far north as Chimara. In an unpretentious house, with a shingle roof, reminding one of the Cotswolds, lives M. Zographos, and here what may be termed Cabinet Councils are held.

A little lower down the steep, narrow street is the residence of the Metropolitan, and these together form the seat of Government. A youthful soldier mounts guard at the door. He is one of the boys from the senior class of the Gymnasium of Jannina. There are 80 of these youths here from various schools. They are distinguished by a gold band around the black skull cap which is the national Epirote headgear. There is little formality in the proceedings. The Council Chamber serves as a dining room.

The Man of the Hour

The man of the hour, M. Zographos, has a keen, kindly countenance, and years have not dimmed the light in his dark eyes. Extremely simple in manner, he talks well and to the point. He speaks French like a Parisian, for he not only made his studies in Paris, but lived there many years. He was Minister for Foreign Affairs during the Ministry of M. Ralli, and Governor-General of Epirus after the war, but he does not profess to be a keen politician. He is more interested in agrarian questions, in which he is deeply versed. The name of M. Karapanos was familiar to me through his father's excavations on the site of Dodona. The spoils from them were formerly housed in a private museum attached to M. Karapanos's residence at Athens, but he has since presented them to the National Museum.

The English of M. Karapanos is as good as the French of M. Zographos. He has followed the diplomatic career, and we discovered we had lodged in the same house at Pera. Colonel Doulis, a plain, matter-of-fact soldier, I only saw for a few moments. He was off on a tour of inspection. In Colonel Botsaris I discovered one of my fellow-passengers from Prevesa—he was in mufti then. He has retired from the Greek army, but has taken service for Epirus. A man of courteous, pleasant manners, he very kindly posted me up in the topography of the country.

Another fellow-traveler I found in Count Romas, of Zante, who set me right as to a mistake I had made in the site of Chiarenza. Count Romas, although Paris was his university, also speaks English and has English family connections. Of stalwart build and impressive presence, his companions introduced him as Hercules. "A Hercules in weight," laughed the count. He went through both the Macedonian and Epirus campaigns. In the latter he commanded the Greek red-jackets, was at the taking of Rizani, and was wounded at Drisco. He is not a member of the Provisional Government, but he is engaged in raising a regiment of franc-tireurs. He is a Deputy in the Greek Chamber, and has been its President several times.

Not a Pleasant Picnic

It is Lent, and the Metropolitan did not dine with us; but I saw him at his residence, a fine figure of a Greek ecclesiastic, with flowing beard, full of energy. He was pleased to know I had been at Serres, which he made his diaconate, and told how he had once buried an Englishman who died at Avlona, funeral rites having been refused by the Roman priest there, and how the family in England had sent him all sorts of presents ever since. We talked at table of various things—of the game in the neighborhood —bear, wild boar and deer—scarcely at all of the object which had brought us to this queer little town among the mountains.

It is not a pleasant picnic for these cultured men of the world, all of them used to other surroundings. There is no doubt about their being in earnest. They have sacrificed time, money, and comfort, some of them a career. I spoke of the boys from the Jannina Gymnasium just now. I ought to have given *place aux dames.* About 30 girls of well-to-do families of Jannina formed a league, and the married ladies followed suit. They are making clothing for the soldiers and collecting funds. Miss Iphigenia Georgitsis, a very charming girl, whom I met at Jannina,

is one of the leading spirits. They have made an appeal to the Epirote ladies settled at Athens with splendid results. The Athenian Epirotes have already collected £4,000 besides much in kind. A hospital is being organized here in a large private house.

Two English ladies came here yesterday to superintend the nursing. The Chief of the Commissariat tells me that finances are in a sound condition. The private donations are handsome, and the taxes are being regularly collected. Nobody can tell what is going to happen. The burning question of the moment is whether the Greek troops will evacuate the territory in three days' time, as they are supposed to do; and if they evacuate, will the Albanians attack?

The Present Situation

Whilst I was talking today with M. Parmenides, who acts as chief of the Commissariat, news came that 47 new men had come to join the forces. M. Parmenides, who was formerly Greek Consul at Boston, Mass., and speaks English perfectly, distinguished himself during the war by his humane efforts to lighten the sufferings of the soldiers exposed to the rigours of winter on those desolate heights. He is not an Epirote born, but knows the country well. His home is in Corfu, but he knows England well, and his wife is English. He is temperate in expressing his opinions, and they are worth listening to. I asked him what he thought would be the upshot of the present situation. He said that if the Greek Government withdrew its troops as it threatened to do "we should have to clear out the Mohammedans about here." There are some 12,000 of them, and they have not been disarmed. We should give them fair warning, but they would have to go south into Greek territory. Certainly not north to join the Albanian hordes which might attack us from that direction. But it is my personal opinion that we shall most likely come to terms with Albania.

"The academic friendship of England and France—what has it been worth? Look at that frontier line on the map. It turns suddenly southward at Yorgotsatis and joins the sea at Cape Pagalia, excluding a great district inhabited by Greek-speaking people, including Delvino and Hagia."

"Is it not monstrous?" someone present interposed. "The Albanians have been granted for political ends a freedom which is theirs by no effort of their own. It is doubtful whether they wanted it even; they only understand clanship. For the same nefarious ends they have been given jurisdiction over a people superior in civilization to themselves. Better to have remained under the Turks as we were for 400 years than this. Under them we had at least our schools and privileges."

I asked M. Zographos, President of the Autonomous Northern Epirus in 1914, to give me his candid opinion of the settlement arrived at by the European powers. He replied at once, "Iniquitous! What was the use of a Commission whose decisions were guided by the claims of two of its members? I cannot understand what prompted Sir Edward Grey to propose that frontier. Was it merely to pacify Italy? Or did he think that Greece had more than enough territory? That would be all very well if it were in an African desert. But this is not a question of more or less land, but of nationality, of securing a decent existence to a people.

"I am inclined to think that an ideal State would have the right to withdraw from the individual land which he neglected to cultivate, and the principle applies with greater force to a collection of individuals, call it a tribe or a nation. I maintain that the Albanian clans have not arrived at a degree of social evolution permitting them to form even a conception of a Constitutional State. They do not possess the qualities needful for creating and administering one, and I assert that the Greeks of Epirus do possess such qualities."

APPENDIX D

Communication of the Honorable Pember Reeves, ex-Governor of New Zealand, to the "Daily Chronicle" of April 11, 1914

"Sir,—The letters from your correspondent in Epirus should be extremely valuable, because in the writer we have one who knows the history and nation and speaks the language of the country about which he writes. The peaceful, almost idyllic, picture of Southern Epirus which he sketches shows what life may be in a part of the Balkan peninsula where the Great Powers cease from troubling.

"On the other hand, abundant testimony from many sources of the state of affairs in Northern Epirus and in Albania proper shows into what plight the same Great Powers bring provinces of whose fate they make themselves the arbiters, and where the agents of some of them are ever busy. In Northern Epirus the Provisional Government set up by the inhabitants holds most of the West and the Center. The Northeast is mainly in the hands of Albanians, some supporting Prince William, some hoisting Turkish colors. Certain posts are still held by Greek troops, which Mr. Venizelos hesitates to withdraw. Their presence there hinders the Epirotes from expelling the Albanians from the Kaza of Korytsa, a contingency which the Greek Government, for diplomatic reasons, seems anxious to avoid. The telegraph to Korytza was cut a fortnight ago so all news from that quarter must be accepted with reserve. There has been a certain amount of fighting, notably at Odritzani, where the Albanians, after trying a night attack on the Epirotes, were beaten with loss and left two machine guns in the hands of the victors.

There is no question of the ability of the Greek Epirotes to defend themselves against Albania. They are well armed and outnumber the drilled Albanian gendarmerie many times.

"They are not asking for justice; that of course would be union with Greece. They ask for the guarantee of a tolerable existence.

"The Great Powers are supposed to be deciding what they will do. Already certain European papers are clamoring that international forces be used in Epirus—in other words, that the Greek Epirotes should be shot down.

"Before the 'Shoot 'em down!' policy is considered, much less adopted by the Great Powers, I would appeal to you and to your readers to scan these terms put forward by the unfortunate Epirotes. I would ask them to consider whether the demands are excessive, coming as they do, from an educated, civilized, Christian people who, to please Italy, and Austria, and for no other reason, are being forced under the rule of Moslem savages, whose chief industry is professional brigandage. It is usual to compare the case of the Epirotes with that of the Ulster Protestants, but the analogy, though by no means fanciful, is anything but exact. Nobody proposes, at the dictation of Austria and Italy—to expel the Ulster Protestants from the British Empire, or to put them under a foreign flag. Ulster has not been proclaimed a part of some savage country, say Morocco. No one has suggested that her people should call themselves Arabs or Abyssinians, that they should lose the protection of the British Army, or fleet, or be regarded as aliens by the British Parliament. They are not to be ruled by a German Prince or deprived of votes and Parliamentary institutions. The Irish Nationalists may have their faults, but they are civilized Christians. The roughest of them are not brutal bandits, whose hands during the past 18 months have been red with the blood of Ulster peasants. Mr. John Redmond has

many critics, but his bitterest enemies have never likened him to Essad Pasha. I would invite you and any fair minded reader of yours interested in the matter to inquire into Essad Pasha's record. When they have ascertained it they will, I am convinced, agree that in refusing to place themselves, their wives, children and property, under the despotic rule of such a person, the Epirotes are only striving for the primary rights of man. For Essad Pasha is just now the virtual ruler of Albania, in so far as Albania has a ruler at all.

"W. P. Reeves."

APPENDIX E

Communication of the Greek Ambassador at London, J. Gennadius, to the London "Times" of April 20, 1914

The Greek Ambassador at London in a letter to the London *Times,* April 20th, 1914, wrote:

"To the Editor of the *Times:*

"Sir,—In your issue of the 14th inst., you published under the heading of 'Greek Responsibility for Epirus Rising,' a telegram received by the Hon. Aubrey Herbert, M.P., from an anonymous 'Protestant Albanian Missionary,' at Korytsa, containing the most sweeping allegations against the Greek Government and the Greek authorities. Similar allegations, equally reckless and unauthenticated, appeared in subsequent issues of *The Times.*

"I am instructed by my Government to give a formal and unqualified contradiction to the suggestion that the Hellenic Government has in any way encouraged or assisted the revolutionary movement in Epirus. It has already been stated officially in the British Parliament that the Greek Government has carried out loyally the promises made by His Excellency M. Venizelos to the Powers; and this fact is admitted and freely recognized by the diplomatic representatives of the Powers in Athens. Not only this, but the Greek Government have taken steps, in respect to the Epirote rising much more severe than those promises entailed. As a consequence of these exceptional and, in some instances, unprecedented measures, the relations between the Greek Government and M. Zographos have been strained to the breaking point, to say nothing of the feeling aroused in Greece itself.

"Moreover, His Majesty King Constantine, as Supreme Chief of the Army, has given the most stringent orders with a view to preventing desertions to the revolutionary forces; and although there have been individual cases of disobedience to these orders, their number is insignificant; while the repeated attempts made by the revolutionists to seize guns and ammunition have been frustrated by the vigilance of the Greek authorities.

"As regards the alleged massacres, the Greek Government has received no reliable information so far. It must, however, be kept in mind that a state of civil war exists in the territories in question, and that the excesses reported correspond exactly to the terrible sufferings which the Christians of Epirus endured for many generations at the hands of the Albanian Mussulmans.

"Finally, the Greek Government deem it necessary to point out that the lamentable conditions which undoubtedly prevail in Southern Albania, and which there is every reason to fear will rapidly grow worse, would have been obviated had the Powers entertained the suggestions made in the Greek Note of February 21 for the protection of the legitimate rights, interests and lives of the Christian populations.

"Relying on the traditional fairness and courtesy of *The Times,* I request you, Sir, to give to the entire text of this official and responsible communication the same prominent publicity which you accorded to the unverified, mostly anonymous and unfair statements, which we are constrained to notice since they have appeared in your columns.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"J. GENNADIUS.

"14 De Vere Gardens, April 19th."

BALKAN STATES
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100 120 140
Railroads
Railroads Proposed
Capitals
Boundaries of Countries
Size of type indicates relative importance of places
HEIGHT OF LAND
Sea level to 328 ft.
328 to 984 ft.
984 to 1640 ft.
1640 to 3281 ft.
3281 to 4921 ft.
4921 ft. and over
Haumond's 8 x 11 Map of Balkan States
Copyright, 1916, by C.S Haumond & Co., N.Y.
Longitude East from Greenwich
A 18° B 20° C 22° D 24° E 26° F 28° G 30°
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Budapest
Belgrade
Bucharest
Sofia
Constantinople
Saloniki
Athens
Smyrna
Brusa
Skutari
Adrianople
Monastir
Uskub
Philippopolis
Rustchuk
Varna
Galatz
Braila
Ploesti
Craiova
Turnu
Widin
Orsova
Lugos
Temesvar
Arad
Szegedin
Maria Theresiopel
Fünfkirchen
Essek
Peterwardein
Semlin
Mitrovitza
Novibazar
Prizrend
Ipek
Prishtina
Kossovo
Salonika
Monastir
Florina
Kastoria
Ochrida
Prespa L.
Janina
Metzovo
Larissa
Volo
Pharsalia
Lamia
Thermopylae
Arta
Prevesa
Patras
Corinth
Argos
Nauplia
Tripolitza
Sparta
Kalamata
Navarino
Modon
Coron
Cape Matapan
Gulf of Arcadia
Gulf of Messenia
Gulf of Laconia
Gulf of Nauplia
Gulf of Corinth
Gulf of Patras
Gulf of Arta
Gulf of Volo
Gulf of Saloniki
Gulf of Orfano
Gulf of Kavalla
Gulf of Xeros
Gulf of Enos
Gulf of Smyrna
Gulf of Adramyti
Gulf of Kos
Gulf of Kisamos
Gulf of Canea
Gulf of Candia
Gulf of Mirabello
Gulf of Sitia
Gulf of Messara
Gulf of Kolokythia
Gulf of Taranto
Gulf of Venice
Gulf of Trieste
Gulf of Fiume
Gulf of Quarnero
Gulf of Cattaro
Gulf of Durazzo
Gulf of Arta
Gulf of Lepanto
Gulf of Salonika
Gulf of Kassandra
Gulf of Monte Santo
Gulf of Contessa
Gulf of Kavalla
Gulf of Xeros
Gulf of Enos
Gulf of Saros
Gulf of Smyrna
Gulf of Adramyti
Gulf of Kos
Gulf of Kisamos
Gulf of Canea
Gulf of Candia
Gulf of Mirabello
Gulf of Sitia
Gulf of Messara
Gulf of Kolokythia
HUNGARY
RUSSIA
MOLDAVIA
WALLACHIA
SERVIA
BULGARIA
MONTENEGRO
ALBANIA
GREECE
TURKEY
BLACK SEA
SEA OF MARMORA
AEGEAN SEA
IONIAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SEA OF CANDIA
Danube R.
Save R.
Drave R.
Theiss R.
Maros R.
Aluta R.
Sereth R.
Pruth R.
Dniester R.
Vistula R.
Bug R.
Dnieper R.
Kilia Mouth of the Danube
Sulina Mouth of the Danube
St. George Mouth of the Danube
Hellespont
Dardanelles
Bosphorus
Lake Balaton
Lake Ochrida
Lake Prespa
Lake Janina
Lake Kastoria
Lake Doiran
Lake Tachinos
Lake Beyshehr
Lake Egerdir
Lake Ascanius
Lake Apollonia
Lake Koloe
Lake Pergusa
Lake Trasimeno
Lake Bolsena
Lake Bracciano
Lake Albano
Lake Nemi
Lake Garda
Lake Iseo
Lake Como
Lake Maggiore
Lake Lugano
Lake Varese
Lake Orta
Lake Trebinje
Lake Scutari
Lake Ochrida
Lake Prespa
Lake Janina
Lake Kastoria
Lake Doiran
Lake Tachinos
Lake Beyshehr
Lake Egerdir
Lake Ascanius
Lake Apollonia
Lake Koloe
Lake Pergusa
Lake Trasimeno
Lake Bolsena
Lake Bracciano
Lake Albano
Lake Nemi
Lake Garda
Lake Iseo
Lake Como
Lake Maggiore
Lake Lugano
Lake Varese
Lake Orta
Lake Trebinje
Lake Scutari

THE OBJECTS OF THE UNION

The Pan-Epirotic Union was organized for the general purpose of enlightening American public opinion on the national aspirations of the people of Northern Epirus to be united with their mother country, Greece; and for the particular purpose of encouraging and assisting its members to adapt themselves to the new social and political conditions in the midst of which they live.

MAY 21 1919